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*R. B. Hayes.*

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W. H. Hays.

# LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES

OF

GOV. RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

BY

RUSSELL H. CONWELL,

AUTHOR OF "WHY AND HOW THE CHINESE EMIGRATE," "LESSONS  
OF TRAVEL," "HISTORY OF THE BOSTON FIRE,"  
"WOMAN AND THE LAW," ETC.

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TO  
THE REPUBLICAN VOTERS  
OF THE  
STATE OF OHIO,

WHOSE VIGOROUS AND PERSISTENT WARFARE FOR FREEDOM AND  
FOR THE VINDICATION OF OUR NATIONAL HONOR HAS  
WON THE PLAUDITS OF EVERY LOVER OF  
HUMANITY THROUGHOUT OUR  
BROAD LAND,

THIS VOLUME IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,

BY THE AUTHOR.



## PREFACE.

---

GOD bless the man who invented a preface! He was a public benefactor, and ought to have a monument on Mount Olympus. It is such a sweet satisfaction to have some spot in a book where the author can be at home with his intimate friends, and out of the reach of intruders, and where a writer can say any thing he pleases without fear of being questioned by the public. It is also a good provision for the readers, as it furnishes a receptacle for all kinds of odds and ends for which there is no place in the body of the work, and in which, if there were a place for them, the general public would have no interest.

A preface is a most convenient thing. Some writers feel compelled to stride through their book on intellectual stilts, giving the impression that they are very tall men; and even the members of their own family would not recognize them without looking back in the preface, and observing how the writers behave, and how they appear, at home. Others set about their work with lungs inflated, and cheeks puffed out, to such an extent as to deceive the very elect with regard to their lateral proportions. A preface corrects many of these errors; for there the author, trusting in his seclusion, appears in his natural leanness, and in his



every-day apparel. A preface is a preparatory rest, a social morning call on old acquaintances, or a sunrise ramble over the fields with the companions we love. It has nothing, apparently, to do with the work of the day, yet there would be no work without it. It has nothing to do with the public, and none but near friends are expected to read it; yet a book without a preface would be like a church without a steeple; neither preface nor steeple being of any practical use beyond distinguishing one from a congressional report, and the other from a barn. Nevertheless, we glory in prefaces, and shall make the most we can out of them.

It has been no small task to collect the materials for this work, and satisfy the demands of intelligent and critical readers; for Gen. Hayes has not been one who has thrust himself before the people, nor one who has made any effort to make or to preserve an interesting biography. He naturally shuns notoriety, and studiously avoids conspicuous positions. Hence, whenever he did any thing worthy of praise, he hid the whole matter as much as he could; and his candidacies and elections to the offices he has filled have been remarkably void of clamor and display. He seems never to have sought official position; nor has he, apparently, cared for honor or distinction. He did his duty in whatever position he found himself, as though it was a matter of routine, and never has felt that he had done any thing worthy of particular mention. Hence the difficulty of writing a history of his acts.

Gov. Hayes did not desire either to write a biography or to dictate one himself, and was very much disinclined to have such a book written at all, as he modestly shrank from that kind of publicity. Neither did we wish to have him

take any especial share in the preparation of a biography of himself, had he been made of less modest stuff, as a book prepared by himself, or by any person under his direction, must be open to the objection that it might be made partial, or be overdrawn for his individual benefit. We were determined that our work should be clear of that objection; and, although we could not have accomplished what we did without some of his assistance, yet there was a distinct understanding that the book should be independent and truthful, without regard to any favor from him or the ties of social obligations. We found him a kind and genial man, willing to do any thing he could to assist us in our work, wherever it did not require egotism or assurance to do it. We are grateful to him for his kindness, but should not allow our gratitude or admiration to influence our minds in making up our judgment of the man and his work, for the instruction of an anxious and interested people. We mean to be as impartial and independent in the following pages as we would have been, had the subject of these sketches never known our intention, and never shown us a favor.

But we could not send this volume to press, without expressing in some manner our appreciation of the uniform courtesy and kindness of the people among whom we prosecuted our search. We cannot forget the many obligations we are under to the relatives and intimate friends of Gen. Hayes, who served us so faithfully, and without whose assistance we must have come far short of a complete biography. Among those to whom we are particularly indebted, we would record the names of Capt. Alfred E. Lee (private secretary to Gov. Hayes), Hon. Stanly Mathews of Cincinnati, Major M. H. White of Cincinnati, Hon. R. H. Stephenson

of Cincinnati, Mr. A. I. Redway of Cincinnati, and Ex-Gov. Noyes also of Cincinnati, Hon. T. C. Jones of Delaware, O., Sheriff E. C. Vining, Mrs. Ursina Wasson, Mrs. S. M. Kilbourne, Mrs. Clarissa Hayes Moody, and Messrs. Beach and Bodurtha, also of Delaware.

In every town and city which we visited in search of historical facts, we were received with a kindly hospitality which has left a fragrant memory. Even the newsboys are gentlemen in Ohio. In all the multitudinous questions we asked of strangers who knew not why we inquired, in all the unceremonious and tedious drafts we made upon the time of business-men in business-hours, and in all the guiding and explaining we received with reference to railroads, towns, streets, libraries, and hotels, we did not receive a discourteous or curt reply, and did not meet a man or boy who did not show a disposition to accommodate and assist a stranger in whatever he could reasonably desire. It was a rich experience. It threw a charm about the whole undertaking, and made it pleasant and invigorating to linger among such a people. From the governor himself, down to the smallest and dirtiest bootblack on the corner, there was exhibited a gentlemanly bearing and a spirit of liberality which excelled even the celebrated-hospitality of the ancient Germans.

Noble, industrious, generous people! Your smile of welcome, your brotherly and sisterly attentions, your sweet good-by, will strengthen our love for humanity, and will echo in our heart long after many nearer to us will have been forgotten. We can understand now, as never before, why Ohio has reared so many statesmen and soldiers, and why her influence is so potent everywhere in the nation. Chivalrous regard for the wants and rights of others, genial good-will in their

intercourse with each other, a high sense of honor, and a high standard of intellectual culture, receive the admiration of every cultivated mind, and command the respect of all men. Such are the people of Ohio as we saw them a few days ago, and as we have seen them before. All honor to their great hearts !



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## INTRODUCTION.

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To record the acts of a man whose success attracts the attention of an entire nation, and to place in a convenient and permanent form a history of his acts, and the acts of others which influenced his life, is both a pleasure and a duty. It is pleasant to trace from step to step the rise of a great man, and interesting to note how strangely, yet systematically, events are made to combine in producing such a man at a certain time. There is nothing in life more convincing of an overruling Power, nor more clearly demonstrating the theory that the good is inspired, and the evil overruled, by some Personality having a mighty purpose, than the lives of America's great men.

The biography of our presidents presents to the superficial reader nothing but the fact that men have been selected from various classes of society, from noble and ignoble stock, as if by accident, to conduct the affairs of a chief executive. Wealth or poverty, ancestry or locality, as independent facts appear to have had no influence. Yet there is a clearly defined plan; and to trace the workings of Providence, and discover the

system which developed these men in their different spheres, is an elevating and instructive exercise. It becomes, therefore, a clear, unmistakable duty to write the biography of such men in order that the people may understand the dealings of God with men, and profit by the example which is thus set before them.

There have been many popular theories upon this subject, which time and experience have served to dispel, not, however, until after each pet idea had been so far accepted and acted upon as to do the nation a vast amount of substantial good.

Once it was thought that none but a soldier could reasonably aspire to be president. But the election of John Adams, James Madison, John Quincy Adams, and Martin Van Buren, wholly overthrew that theory. Then it was thought that only such men as were wealthy enough in their boyhood to pursue the highest branches of learning could hope to be chief magistrate. But the choice of Andrew Jackson and James K. Polk overthrew that idea. Again: it was said and taught, that a man should have been born poor, and should have been compelled to battle hard with poverty and enemies, before he could be fitted for the presidential chair. The election of Franklin Pierce and James Buchanan destroyed that argument. When Andrew Jackson was chosen for president, every ambitious politician cursed the fate which permitted the existence of only one "Old Hickory." When Van Buren came into the White House, they wondered why it had never

occurred to them to get a polished education, and study political economy all their youthful days; when William Henry Harrison was president, they selected the medical profession for their children; when Zachary Taylor stood at the head of the nation, they desired nothing so much as to fight Mexicans and Indians; and, when Abraham Lincoln held the coveted place, they regretted that they were not brought up on a flatboat, and had been given no opportunity to win high honor by splitting rails, or building log cabins.

But a study of the lives of our presidents, now that the number is large enough to form a basis from which to draw conclusions, will clearly demonstrate that no rank of birth, no station or profession, no creed or genius, are certain to receive preference in political selections. So far beyond human calculation are the events of each four years, it has become to be an old saying, that "to be talked about beforehand as a candidate for the presidency is to be certain of defeat." It appears to be an office to which it is useless to aspire. The surest way to obtain that prize is to attend to one's own business, whatever it may be, faithfully and honestly. The occasion seeks the man in a nation where "the voice of the people is the voice of God," and as we cannot tell what will be the needs of the nation four years ahead, nor foretell the emergencies which may arise, neither can we tell who, or what manner of man, will be called upon to guide the ship of state. However, some broad principles remain fixed. Certain

qualities a man must not lack, if he would be exalted in an enlightened republic. He must be honest; he must be just; he must be patriotic. The more these qualities are eulogized, and the more these prerequisites are impressed upon the people, the more stable will be both our government and our communities. To set before the public the life of one in whom these qualities combine is the solemn duty of every writer to whom an overruling Providence offers the opportunity; and in that spirit has this work been undertaken. Men are not prophets, and cannot foretell the results of such a complicated matter as a man's life; but, after it has been set before them, they can study the relation of cause and effect as therein exhibited, and, recognizing the leadership of a superhuman mind, they will emulate those qualities which have won favor from Him who knoweth all things. In these pages we set before you a life worthy of imitation. Men and women will be made wiser and better by its perusal, and we enter upon it with joy.

# LIFE OF RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

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## CHAPTER I.

### GEN. HAYES'S NATIVE TOWN.

**Early Settlement. — Growth of the Town. — Gen. Hayes's Father. — Characteristics of the People. — Wesleyan College. — The Birth-place of Gen. Hayes. — Description of the House.**

IN the town of Delaware, situated in the central part of the State of Ohio, was born the subject of this biographical sketch. The town is located on the western bank of the Olentangy River, a muddy tributary of the still more muddy Scioto, the latter being a small branch of the Ohio River. The location of the village appears to have been chosen by the earliest settlers, as it had been before them by the Delaware Indians, because of the exceeding fertility of several hundred acres of land in the immediate vicinity. It is possible that the idea of securing a water-power sufficient for manufacturing purposes may also have had its weight with the New England emigrants who built their cabins there. But the slight fall in the river was not brought into extensive use until many years after



the settlement began. The country in the vicinity is somewhat rolling, and quite thickly wooded, furnishing excellent farming-lands, and beautiful sites for private residences. The town, though now boasting wide streets, long brick blocks, fashionable mansions, suspension-bridges, railways, newspapers, and colleges, was, at the time of which we desire to speak, but a diminutive hamlet of Western log-huts, with here and there a brick or stone dwelling, which, in the absence of saw-mills, was more easily constructed than those of wood. It had in 1817 about four hundred inhabitants, nearly all of whom were natives of New England. The first settler was a Mr. BIXBY from the Berkshire hills of Massachusetts, who soon gathered neighbors from Maine, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Vermont, and Massachusetts. These settlers carried with them more or less capital, and, what has more to do with this biography than money, they neglected not to take also with them their New England enterprise, energy, and integrity. Their schoolhouse, church, and courthouse was one and the same building in the earliest years, although it was soon found, that, practically as well as theoretically, a school and a criminal court could not long exist together. Like many other villages of Ohio, Delaware was an Eastern village set down in the wilderness. All the people attended church on the sabbath; every family sent their children to school; and there was industry, frugality, and sociability.

The spirit of speculation and land-gambling, which

has ruined many men, and doomed a great number of Western towns and cities, never found its way into that quiet retreat. Corner-lots were never held for a premium, and the people obtained all that they did get of money or wealth, either by inheritance from their parents in the East, or by continual and vigorous toil. Once it was said by scientific men, that Delaware had a bed of silver ore, and many of the oldest inhabitants believe it still; yet so regular have the people been in their habits, and so disinclined to believe in sudden riches, that they have never investigated the story.

Once, however, the habitual calm of the community was ruffled by the prospect that Delaware was to be a fashionable watering-place; and a noble mansion was constructed on a beautiful hill out of the side of which flowed one of the brightest and most musical of all sulphur-springs. It was an excusable fallacy, and had the West been less healthy, or the people less modest, the enterprise could not have failed; for the medicinal qualities of the water, and the charming nature of the surroundings, were established beyond question.

But the invalids did not come, and the watering-place project was a failure: so the people afterwards purchased the whole property, and gave it to the Ohio Wesleyan Seminary and Female College corporation, thus characteristically founding and endowing that which is now one of the most influential collegiate institutions of the State.

The growth of the village was somewhat remarkable in view of the lack of manufacturing and commercial interests. The statement of that old settler must be true, who said, that "they cared more for good neighbors than they did about getting rich." The first house was built 1802; and it was without near neighbors for some years. Yet when Rutherford Hayes, the father of Rutherford B. Hayes, moved his family there in 1817, it was a flourishing village, having nearly all the conveniences that characterized a country town in his native Vermont. They had log-huts, bad roads, many Indians, and the fever and ague; but they were not without preaching, sabbath schools, prayer-meetings, day schools, and debating societies. Even the singing-master was there; and some of the old people speak with enthusiasm of the singing-schools, which Mr. Hayes himself liberally supported, and where the young people sang some, and courted more, very much as they do, and have done, in New England from time immemorial.

Hence, as much as our readers may desire it, and as closely as we may scrutinize it, the home of Rutherford B. Hayes at the time of his birth in 1822, and through the five years of his parents' residence in Delaware previous to his birth, had nothing very strange or wonderful about it. It was like the man of whom we write, industrious, quiet, and modest.

The house which Rutherford Hayes built, and in which Gen. Hayes was born, is still standing on Williams Street, near Sandusky Street; and though other

buildings have somewhat crowded it, and some changes have been made in the front-walls, it has the same outline and material with which it was at first constructed. The front or main part is built of brick, two stories high, with a pitched roof, and stands with the side toward the street. The front-door was in the middle of the front-wall, with a room upon each side. There were



BIRTHPLACE OF GOV. R. B. HAYES.

[From a photograph by Beach & Bodurtha, Delaware, O.]

four ordinary frame-windows in the first story,—two each side of the front-door,—and five windows in the front of the second story. The roof is shingled; and the log L, or addition at the back-side, is neatly covered with clapboards. The brick part of the house is about twenty feet by thirty feet, and the log L about fifteen feet by thirty feet; the latter having had formerly a porch along the whole side, at the farther end of which

was the well. Since the Hayes family left it, the house has been sold, and the brick front has been changed into a store by tearing out the partitions between the front-rooms and the front-hall, and by uniting the two front-windows on either side of the front-door, so as to make two show-windows. The store is now occupied by a dealer in furniture; and, until recent events called it to mind, the people had forgotten that a family by the name of Hayes ever lived there.

## CHAPTER II.

### GEN. HAYES'S ANCESTORS.

**The Ancestry of the Hayes and Rutherford Families. — The Nobility.**  
— The Coat-of-Arms. — The Settlement in Connecticut. — Removal  
to Vermont. — Rutherford Hayes of Brattleboro'. — His Early Life.  
— Sophia Birchard.

THE Hayes family could boast a long line of honorable ancestry, if it chose to do so; but it appears to have taken but little or no interest in the matter. That branch of the family which includes Gen. Hayes can be traced, it is said, back as far as 1280, when Hayes and Rutherford were two Scottish chieftains, fighting side by side with Baliol, William Wallace, and Robert Bruce. Both families were numbered among the nobility, owning extensive estates, and having a large number of followers. The Hayes family, in its prosperous days, before any of its descendants ever visited this country, and before the intermarriage with the Rutherfords, had for a coat-of-arms a shield, barred and surmounted by an eagle in the act of flying. There was a circle of stars about the eagle, and above the shield; while on a scroll underneath the shield was painted the motto, "Recte." Some antiquarians

describe the coat-of-arms as having alternate bars of silver and red on the shield; while others claim that the colors were white and blue. But, whatever may have been the shape or the color, no one but curious antiquarians would care to know; and the least interested searcher of all would be Gen. Hayes himself. There is no pride of ancestry to be found in his character: and, in fact, it is doubtful if he ever took the pains to ascertain whether his progenitors had either nobility or a coat-of-arms; for he looks upon life very much from the standard of Robert Burns:—

“ A king can mak’ a belted knight,  
A marquis, duke, and a’ that;  
But an honest man’s aboon his might,  
Guid faith, he maunna fa’ that!  
For a’ that, and a’ that,  
Their dignities, and a’ that;  
The pith o’ sense, and pride o’ worth,  
Are higher ranks than a’ that.”

But whoever were his ancestors, and whatever the glory of their knighthood and bravery on the Scottish border, it is certain that misfortune overtook the noble house of Hayes; for when George Hayes left Scotland (in 1680) to make his home in Connecticut, he appears to have had but little property, and no near relatives. All that is known of him now is the fact that he settled in Windsor, Conn., and was an industrious worker in wood and iron, having a mechanical genius and a cultivated mind. He had one son, also

named George, who remained in Windsor during his life. Daniel Hayes, the son of the latter, was married to Sarah Lee, and lived after his marriage, and until his death, at Simsbury, Conn. Ezekiel Hayes, the son of Daniel, was born in 1724, and was engaged in the manufacture of scythes at Bradford, Conn. Rutherford Hayes, the son of Ezekiel, and grandfather of Gen. Hayes, was born at New Haven in August, 1756. He was a tavern-keeper, a blacksmith, and a farmer. During his lifetime Vermont was the Eldorado of New England; and a large number of people from Connecticut emigrated to that State, including Rutherford Hayes himself, who purchased a farm, and established a hotel, at Brattleboro'. It was in Brattleboro' that the father of Gen. Hayes was born. He was married, in September, 1813, to Sophia Birchard of Wilmington, Vt., whose ancestors also emigrated from Connecticut, they having been among the wealthiest and best families of Norwich. Her ancestry by the male side can be followed, in an unbroken line, back to 1635, when John Birchard came to Norwich, and became one of the original and principal proprietors of that township. Both of her grandfathers were valiant soldiers in the Revolution; one of them, it is said, being an intimate companion and friend of Gen. Israel Putnam. Her parents were frugal and industrious persons, whose quiet and unostentatious manners attracted no particular attention in the intelligent and stirring communities of Vermont.



The Hayes family, and also the Birchard family, has a numerous progeny. One branch of the Hayes lineage settled in Maine; another, in New York; another, in Vermont; while an almost countless number of the citizens of Connecticut claim a relationship to the Hayes family, more or less distant. The Birchards are a well-known family in Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and Maryland; and all trace their ancestry back to George Birchard of Norwich.

The father of Gen. Hayes was one of those interesting characters, whose life illustrates the perseverance, enterprise, and varied talents of our early New England people. He was the second son in a family of nine children, — three sons and six daughters. He is mentioned by the old people who remember him, as having a kind, open-hearted way of greeting his acquaintances, and being always ready and prompt to do any neighborly service that circumstances suggested. In his boyhood, he was the "errand-boy" of the family, and a most devoted companion for his mother and sisters. He could mend a plough, or knit a stocking, and could turn his hand to almost any kind of work without appearing awkward, or injuring the tools. He attended school during the winter months, and worked in the blacksmith-shop, or on the neighboring farms, during the summer. He was a leader among his young companions in all their plays and games, but was never a leader, and seldom a follower, in practical

jokes or mischief-making. He was somewhat frail; and the hard work upon the farm or in the shop often resulted in protracted illness: consequently, his father procured for him a situation as clerk in a country store near by, and soon after assisted him in establishing a store of his own at Brattleboro'.

In that mercantile occupation he made a large number of acquaintances, and nearly all of them became true and valued friends. He was engaged in that business when he became acquainted with Sophia Birchard, and was at that time the most promising, intelligent, and influential young man of Brattleboro'. He conducted his business on Christian principles. His store was kept there to assist his fellow-men; and, whenever his neighbors or townsmen wished for any thing which they could not obtain in Brattleboro', they applied to Rutherford Hayes, who always acted for them, and never charged a profit beyond reasonable wages; and that was distributed equally among his whole stock. His stock in trade was brought to the town to accommodate the people, not to extort money. He not only anticipated their wants, and had on hand those things his customers needed, and just when they were called for, but by his skill in purchasing, and his careful management of the transportation, he saved the community a great deal of expense. He was looked upon as a benefactor; and no one in that community received more hearty congratulations, or was ever the subject of more good wishes, than Rutherford Hayes at the

time of his marriage. He was active in all the benevolent enterprises of the village. He was a member of the Presbyterian church, and was an active supporter of religious and secular schools.

It was in church that he met Sophia Birchard, whose part in this drama of real life was so important and interesting, that we dwell upon it with pleasure. She was a most fit companion for Rutherford Hayes; and her disposition and manner covered the defects of his nature. He was inclined to be silent; but she was ready and instructive in her conversation. He was often disposed to be sad: she was as sparkling as a mountain-spring. He would from choice have preferred to attend close to his work, evening and day, and sought recreation more to add to the happiness of others than from any taste of his own: she was playful and witty, light-hearted and cheerful, and unconsciously forced him into laughter and jollity. With him, religious services were a solemn duty; with her, they were a happy privilege. He was charitable and generous, because it was right he should be so: she performed kind acts because she loved to make others happy. Their lives ran parallel, and they neither clashed nor divided. His keen sense of duty, and her unbounded love, always brought them to the same conclusion.

It is probable that there are wives and mothers in our land who could be counted in thousands, who are the equals, in every grace, of Mrs. Hayes; but

that fact does not make those traits of character less valuable, nor less deserving of mention. Virtuous wives and Christian mothers are the safeguards of the nation. Without their potent influence, a republic is not possible. Such a woman as Sophia Birchard Hayes is to be honored and revered by a people who depend, as we must, upon public education and private morality for the foundations of our system of government. And she will receive the praise and the thankful remembrance of all who have had kind mothers, and know what it is to be the subject of woman's sacrifice.

## CHAPTER III.

### EMIGRATION TO OHIO.

**Rutherford Hayes determines to emigrate. — His Purchase of a Farm. — The Journey to Ohio. — The Distillery. — The Home. — The Great Pestilence. — Death of Rutherford Hayes. — His Burial-Place.**

THE same incentives which impelled his father to leave Connecticut at the close of the Revolution, and emigrate to Vermont, moved in the mind and heart of Rutherford Hayes after the close of the war of 1812, and led him to entertain the idea of moving his family to the attractive and romantic wilds of "the Ohio." It was somewhat characteristic of his father's household to desire a change; and only three of the nine children settled permanently in Brattleboro', — one brother, a farmer, and two sisters, Mrs. Polly Noyes and Mrs. Belinda Elliott. The other brother practised law in New Haven, and died in the Barbadoes, where he was sent by the government as a United States consul. One sister, Mrs. Clarissa Hayes Moody, lived many years in Granby, Mass., and is now residing in Delaware, O. Another sister, Mrs. Sarah Hayes Bancroft, was the wife of a lawyer, and now lives in Chesterfield,

Mass. The other two sisters, viz., Mrs. Abby Hayes Robbins, and Mrs. Fannie Hayes Smith, lived in Granby, Mass.

The influences which took the brother and the sisters away from Brattleboro', however, were not the same, either in time or character, with those which started Rutherford. He appears to have had no good reason for his movement; and his sudden resolution and as sudden departure on his exploring expedition is one of those unaccountable freaks of human nature, in which the superhuman assumes control to the exclusion of the usual reasoning faculties. Call it a "Western fever," a desire for change, or whatever one may, it remains as yet an unexplainable phenomenon. By this overmastering desire, which overrides every thing in its fury, the West has been peopled with the best and strongest of our New England families, and the grand purposes of God subserved thereby.

What motive could have induced Rutherford Hayes to sell out his stock in trade, abandon his old home and many friends, was the wonder then of his whole county, and is a marvel still. He had secured enough during his few years in trade to be independent and comfortable. He was accumulating money. He had a wife and two children, whose relatives and acquaintances, like his own, were all in that vicinity. Every thing he loved, every thing he could desire,—a happy home, thriving churches, excellent schools, established and profitable business, old friends, old associations,

every thing, — was there ; yet Rutherford Hayes, following a destiny he could not fathom, and moved by an impulse none could explain, determined to leave them all, and set his face toward the savage men and savage beasts of a terrible wilderness.

Of his first journey into Ohio, on a tour of inspection, we know but little. Those who accompanied him have passed away ; while he never said much about it, nor did he leave any record of it. All we know is, that, after an absence of nearly four months, he returned to Brattleboro' with the declaration that he had purchased a farm on the Olentangy River, in the wilds of Ohio, to which he purposed to move at once.

Of those days of preparation, of the selling, the packing, the visiting, the settling of every worldly account, the buying of the horses and the emigrant-wagon, the storing-away of food, clothing, and keepsakes, the sad glances towards the setting sun, the shouts of the crowd, the good-bys of dear ones, the tears that would not be hid, none can speak so well as the emigrant who has seen and heard them. It must have filled the soul with awe. Starting from the known to the unknown, stepping out into an eternity, boldly marching into the unbroken night of countless ages, and leaving behind every thing which goes to make up the joys of civilized life, — such was the movement made by Rutherford Hayes.

They started from Brattleboro' in a covered wagon drawn by three horses : some accounts say two. In that

vehicle was stored all the goods they had reserved from all their possessions, and nearly all the food they expected to need on the journey. They six — Rutherford Hayes, Sophia Hayes, little Fannie, and little Lorenzo (the latter scarcely old enough to walk), Sardis Birchard (Sophia's young brother), and Ursina Smith (a young orphan) — were to travel by day, and sleep by night, in that tented conveyance, regardless of dense forests, deep streams, storms, and savages, which they were sure to meet on the way. Ursina Smith, now Mrs. Ursina Smith Wasson of Delaware, O., is the only survivor of them all; and her story of that forty days and nights of travel and peril would make a romance by itself. But so many families had a like experience before the great State of Ohio was redeemed from the primitive forests, that we will not make this an exception, and recite it here.

It would seem to be a conclusive argument that Rutherford Hayes did not himself know why he had so suddenly and impetuously moved into Ohio, when we state, that after his arrival in Delaware, in 1817, and while the farm he had purchased lay idly awaiting his coming, he did not go there to improve it. He had a capital of three or four thousand dollars; and, while looking about in the little town for an opportunity to safely and profitably invest it, he abandoned the idea of farming altogether. His land was situated on the banks of the river, about a mile and a half above the village of Delaware; and it is said that he often rode



out to see it, but he never could make up his mind to move his family out into such a wild place, exposed as it was to wild beasts and marauding Indians. Soon an opportunity offered itself to purchase an interest in the distillery, which had been built there by the firm of Lamb & Little, and which was at that time considered both a respectable and profitable business. Mr. Hayes purchased the share of Mr. Little; and the business was continued; up to the time of Mr. Hayes's death (in 1822), in the name of Lamb & Hayes.

Mr. Hayes began the construction of a house soon after his investment in the distillery; and, as his capital and recognized ability gave him the highest social position in the community, he deemed it necessary to construct a dwelling in keeping with his position. Hence the building he constructed, as awkward and unfashionable as it now appears, was then the finest and most convenient residence in town.

About a year after his arrival, a second daughter was born, who was named after its mother, but who died before she reached the age of five years. In matters of public importance, Mr. Hayes was always sought as a counsellor; and he was liberal in his donations for the institution of schools and churches. He was one of the earliest and largest subscribers toward the fund for building the first church edifice for the Presbyterian church of Delaware, of which he and his wife were members; but he did not live to see the building completed.

The years 1821 and 1822 were terrible years for the people of Ohio, and are mentioned even now with a shudder. During those years, a malarious Simoom swept over the State, smiting with a malignant bilious fever the young and the old. Scarcely a family but felt the cursed pestilence; while there were many instances where whole households were exterminated at one swoop. In Delaware the disease was unusually fatal. Some said it was the effect of decaying vegetation: others said it was caused by the miasma rising from the stagnant pools and their poisonous green scum. Whatever the cause, the air was loaded with pestilence; while funerals and burials were appallingly frequent. Swift as the cholera, and as incurable as the plague, it drove the people into their graves by the hundreds, and into exile by the thousands. Rutherford Hayes was one of its victims. It was but a few short hours after the first feverish flashes ran through his limbs, before the poison had performed its dreadful mission, and Rutherford Hayes was no more on earth. In the little burial-ground on a knoll near the sulphur springs, and bordering on the park of the female college, they laid away in universal grief, and with public ceremonies of respect, all that had been mortal of the faithful friend, the patriotic citizen, the indulgent father, and affectionate husband.

## CHAPTER IV.

### BIRTH AND EARLY YEARS.

Death of Rutherford Hayes. — Ursina Smith. — Sardis Birchard. — Birth of his Son Rutherford Birchard Hayes. — Characteristics of his Mother. — Sickness in his Early Years. — Illustrative Anecdotes of his Babyhood. — Drowning of his only Brother. — Effect upon his Mother.

RUTHERFORD HAYES died July 22, 1822; and the utter desolation which appeared to surround his widow, Sophia Hayes, can be imagined by those only who have experienced such a bereavement under similar circumstances. She was in a new and a strange land, far from all the friends of her youth, with no one older or stronger than herself on whom to lean, or with whom she could share the burden of her grief. Her little Sophia had died the year before; and the shadows of that sorrow still lurked about the doors, windows, and corners of the yard, where the little one had been so often seen at play, and they served to make more dark and appalling this strange dispensation of God's providence. She thought she had then seen the deepest sorrow. She said there could be no lower depths of grief. But ah! she did not know how much more she

could and must suffer. Even the deepest pit seems to lead to some still lower abyss ; and we find no place so dismal or so low but that it might be worse.

Mrs. Hayes, however, was a woman possessed of an unusually cheerful character, which, combined with her unfaltering faith in the goodness of God, and the wisdom of all his decrees, gave her a spirit of resignation, that strengthened her body and mind. Surely she had need of all the consolations of religion, and all the comforts of friendship, to bear the great trials of her widowhood. A birth and a death lay in her path to try her still more.

Little Fannie was a school-girl, who could not be of much assistance to her mother ; and Lorenzo was, in his early boyhood, an unceasing object of solicitude and care. It was then that she saw how much wiser are they who implicitly obey the sweet teachings of the gospel than are those who trust to their own worldly wisdom ; for in that early day of her married life in Vermont, when the appeal was made to her to take into her home the little orphan, Ursina Smith, and assume the care and expense of her growth and education, it was regarded by many of her acquaintances as a most foolish undertaking. Her neighbors, it is said, discouraged her, and told her that she would be certain to regret such an unwise following of her sympathy and of her ideas of Christian charity. But now, when he on whom she placed her whole dependence in this life had been taken away, and she naturally looked about

for some other support, there, beside her, so near as to be like a daughter, so affectionate and grateful as to be a most faithful friend, was the poor orphan, now almost a woman grown. Then she recognized the truth of the great promise. The bread she had cast upon the waters returned to her. As these two women walked on side by side through those dark years, drawn closely together by the bonds of a common bereavement, how often did they thank God for the delicious fruits of charity!

Not alone in the companionship and faithful services of Miss Smith did Mrs. Hayes reap the reward of her kindness of heart and deeds of Christian charity. Sardis Birchard, her brother, had entered her household when but fifteen years of age. He had been thrown upon the care of her husband and herself by circumstances he could not control. She had been a mother to him, more faithful and affectionate than many real mothers are: she combined a mother's and a sister's love in all her acts and prayers. For five years he had been to her as a son, and had received from her much of that enthusiasm and social education which served him so well in his subsequent remarkable career.

Now in her desolation she was to receive her reward. Here was a friend, — a sturdy, open-hearted young man just entering upon life, who loved her more than either could realize until the hour of need came upon her. Sardis Birchard was a noble young man. He deserved to have friends; he deserved to gain riches:

and we are devoutly thankful that he had them. He was as affectionate and tender as a girl with his sister and her little ones : he was as brave as a hero in the hour of danger : he was as industrious, frugal with himself, and generous toward others, as the chiefest and best of his Huguenot ancestors. His devotion to his sister's family knew no cessation during his life. He made it his especial life-work to care for them ; and, in the accumulation of wealth, he appears to have been moved by the single purpose of making some of them happy. Verily did this noble woman receive her reward.

Oct. 4, 1822, less than three months after the death of his father, and in the house built four years before by his father, Rutherford Birchard Hayes was born. His birth was not signalized or celebrated by any thing prodigious or promising : on the contrary, his life had a most inauspicious beginning. His mother was weak, and almost dying with grief and care. His Uncle Sardis was compelled by the business he had just begun at Fort Ball to be absent a great deal. His little sister was sick ; and he was so weak and frail, that no one believed he would live beyond a month or two. As the months went by, he grew weaker and weaker, until the neighbors were in the habit of inquiring if "Mrs. Hayes's baby died last night."

Yet as each day added to his mother's strength, and increased her ability to bury her sorrow, every day that he lived on increased his chances of overcoming

the disease which seemed to be preying upon him. The writer has conversed with men and women who were frequent visitors at the house during his babyhood; and they relate many anecdotes illustrating the state of his health, and the condition of his family at that time.

One day Mr. Rheen, an intimate friend, and a Masonic associate of Sardis Birchard, called in to see Mrs. Hayes, and "to ask after that boy." He was a jolly man, and had lived in the family for some months after his arrival in Delaware. He was on very familiar terms with the family, and began to banter Mrs. Hayes upon the appearance of "that boy."

"Why!" said he, "in a year or two more, he will be all head."

Mrs. Hayes made some laughing reply about having children who "knew something," even if their heads were out of proportion to the size of their body. Whereupon Mr. Rheen ironically remarked, —

"That's it! Stick to him. You have got him along so far; and I shouldn't wonder if he should really come to something yet."

"You need not laugh," said Mrs. Hayes. "You wait and see. You can't tell but I shall make him President of the United States yet."

Another neighbor, living near by, very frankly told Mrs. Hayes, one morning when the baby was about eight months old, that "it would be a mercy if the child would die." He was sure it could not live long;

and, the sooner it breathed its last, the less suffering would it see.

Another friend told her plainly that it was no use to work so ; “ for,” said he, —

“ The child must die ; and it is a waste of strength. I tell you the child is not worth saving ! ”

So the neighbors talked, and so his mother worked, for three or four years. Even Sardis Birchard declared that the boy could not grow up, and, if he could, he would be a useless invalid.

When little Rutherford was three years old, an accident happened which drew him even closer to his mother, and made her even more determined and anxious that Rutherford should live.

In the winter of 1825, and when Lorenzo Hayes, her eldest son, was nine years old, the Olentangy River was frozen over with such thickness and smoothness as to furnish fine skating for the young people. Among those who rushed out to enjoy it was Master Lorenzo, who was an agile, adventurous youth, and a great favorite with his playfellows. He was proud of their admiration, and performed many feats for their edification. It appears that there was an air-hole in the ice, where the water was deep, and the current strong, around which the skaters had been flying all day. Young Hayes conceived the idea of experimenting to see just how near to the opening it was possible for him to glide, and escape a fall. Around and around the dangerous pool he circled, drawing nearer and



more venturesome with each circuit, until his skates chipped the glassy edges of the whirlpool. Suddenly there was a loud report, a crash, and a scream; and, Lorenzo went like a shot into the eddy beneath. He was a good swimmer and a cool-brained youth, and as he arose to the surface, succeeded in clasping the ice in such a manner as to support himself, and keep his head above water. But the ice was too thin and weak to bear his weight, and would break off at each attempt to raise himself out of the freezing flood. His mates, frightened out of their reason, ran away to call the neighbors, leaving him alone. It was but a few moments before help was procured; but, when they reached the spot, he had disappeared in the congealing waters. His body was recovered a short time after by breaking the ice; but it was cold and stiff in death.

What a shock it was to his mother, what unutterable woe it brought to a heart already broken with grief, may possibly be imagined, but it cannot be told. When they hastily bore home the body of her eldest boy, and she felt that she had lost that prop, her whole being went out in prayer to God to preserve the son and daughter who remained. What wonder, then, that she gave herself no rest! What is there surprising in her ceaseless vigilance, and her unwillingness for many years that Rutherford should go beyond her sight? Fannie and Rutherford were her all from that time forth. She had no care, no wish for herself, beyond them and their happiness.

## CHAPTER V.

### CHILDHOOD AND SCHOOLDAYS.

Childish Sports. — His Playmates. — His Sister's Teaching. — Success of a "Good Boy." — Punctuality. — Brotherly Love. — Preparing for College.

THE childhood of young Rutherford differed from that of many other boys, inasmuch as he was unable to engage in vigorous sports, or to attend the public school, until he was seven years of age. He was a weak, thin, pale boy, whose large eyes and tender smile attracted the attention of all with whom he came in contact. His sports were wholly within doors; and his sister Fannie and her associates were his playmates. He naturally shunned the coarse and rude boys upon the street, being as timid and nervous as a girl. This disposition, together with the cautious and unceasing oversight of his anxious mother, kept him free from all the little vices and mischievous traits which characterize nearly every boy at that period of his life.

His sister was a faithful guardian and an apt teacher; and it may be that his education progressed more favorably in her charge than it would have done in the hands of older and more experienced teachers.

It is refreshing to record the success of one boy whose childhood was marked by no disobedience, and whose boyish activity led him into no wrong. It is so seldom that such boys arrive at distinction. So universally have valedictorians and model scholars in school or college sunk into oblivion, while the mischief-making, unruly, careless classmates have achieved the greatest, noblest success, that affectionate parents may well tremble when they learn that their dear boy graduates at the head of his class. Either he will rest satisfied with that honor, or he will get such a high opinion of his own ability, that he will come to the fatal decision that there is no more for him to learn. Such an opinion of one's self is an intellectual and moral death. But the scholar who has been playing tricks and practical jokes when he should have been preparing his lesson, who has been disobedient, and evaded his recitations, goes into the world feeling that he has accomplished nothing, and all of honor or value for him in education and work lies yet before him. He enters upon life, feeling that he is just beginning it; while the valedictorian starts out for himself as though he was already at the end of it. Expelling young students from college has often made great men of them; while a graduation with the highest honors has as often destroyed them. It is a sad fact, and ought not so to be. It is, however, reasonable to suppose that such will continue to be the case until school prizes and extraordinary honors are abolished, and the young men are taught that it is not

the *summum bonum* of our earthly lives to stand at the head of a graduating class in Greek or geometry.

Young Hayes was to that rule an exception. During his attendance at the common school, he was always waiting at the steps of the old stone schoolhouse when the door was opened in the morning, and never late in returning to his seat at recess. He did not splinter his desk with his penknife, nor throw paper balls or apple-cores at his next neighbor. He never blew up the schoolhouse with powder, nor pinned streamers to the backs of his teachers. He engaged in no quarrel with his schoolmates; and he strictly obeyed every direction and command of his instructors. He was a model boy. To him the teacher pointed with pride, and set him before the school as a standard of good behavior. Yet he was so modest and bashful, that such flattery and distinction did not make him proud, or turn his mind from his studies.

We write these things with joy; for there are hundreds of discouraged teachers in our land who will be encouraged thereby. For years they have been looking and waiting for some such example. They have yearned for a history such as this, in order to recite it to their unsteady pupils; and here it is at last, — a good boy, and a successful man. Here is a child without fault, a schoolboy without tricks, a scholar without deceit, a playmate without selfishness, who has become great in the eyes of the world. Happy teachers! This example is a rich morsel for you; and indeed the influence of

such a life will do more for the nation in an educational and moral way than many statutes.

In all his early schooldays, his sister Fannie was his faithful companion. Men and women now old and gray recall those days, and speak with tenderness of the affection which marked all the relations of that brother and sister. Seldom were they separated until his college-days, and even then he found his sister to be a substantial help, and a ceaseless watcher over every thing which could concern him.

His uncle, Sardis Birchard, began also to take an extraordinary interest in his education; and as the young boy's health improved, and his mind grew more vigorous, his uncle conceived the idea of sending him to college. When the great progress he made convinced his mother and sister that Rutherford could bear the strain of college studies, they reluctantly consented to his uncle's plan, and it was decided that he should begin a systematic preparation. He attempted it for a while at home with a tutor; but, as he did not acquire knowledge as rapidly as his ambitious uncle desired, he was sent to a professor in Middletown, Conn., where he remained a year, and from which place he returned, amply fitted to enter any university in the land.

## CHAPTER VI.

### AT COLLEGE.

**Selection of a College. — Uncle Birchard's Opinion. — Young Hayes enters at Gambia. — His Student Life. — His Sports. — His Speech to the Rebellious Students. — His Graduation.**

IN the spring of 1838, the question was to be decided where young Rutherford should pursue his college course; and after some discussion, according to the traditions among the neighbors, Kenyon College was selected because of its proximity to his home. He had been gone a year while preparing for college, and the trials of that separation had a weight in the discussion on the part of his mother and sister. But Uncle Birchard, who was regarded as authority in all these matters, since he had assumed the guardianship and patronage of his nephew, must be consulted, and he was in favor of Kenyon; not that Uncle Birchard pretended to be a judge of the relative value of colleges, for he did not claim even to know what branches of learning were taught there. He knew that his own education was very meagre; and he was determined that his nephew should not be as ignorant as he himself had been. He was a great-hearted, generous man, who

loved his ward, and who, believing that Rutherford would some day inherit wealth, was anxious that he should have a cultivated mind to enjoy his means, and to use them to advantage.

He did not know why one college was not the same as another, and, fortunately, Kenyon was near by, and where he could see his *protégé* often. He may have been influenced by the fact, that, when he lived in Delaware, he sometimes went to the Episcopalian sabbath school; or he may have been moved by the fact that an Episcopalian missionary among the Indians had assisted his mercantile business materially at Tiffin by urging the savages to trade with Birchard, who never sold them whiskey, and who treated them as fairly as he did the white men. Whether for these reasons, or for others unknown to us, not only did Kenyon College, but several other Episcopalian enterprises, find favor in his sight, notwithstanding the fact that his sister was a strict Presbyterian, and had kept young Rutherford in regular attendance at the services and sabbath school of that denomination.

The terms of Rutherford's college-life after he arrived at Gambia are years of silence. He was such a quiet lad, that he came and went to his recitations, day after day, awakening no attention either by failure in his studies, or by any displays of superior genius. He was characteristically modest and retiring in his choice of a room, going into the gable-end of the building, and taking the attic room, with one little round

window peeping out from under the ridge-pole. His room-mate told the writer, that while other students grumbled, and often flew into a rage, about the labor imposed upon them in the care of their rooms, yet Rutherford carried the water and fuel up all those stairs, through all those months, doing more than his share, without giving expression to one word of complaint or dissatisfaction.

He never joined in mischief-making, and no one ever thought of his doing so. His character and disposition were too well known and too much respected to be a matter of doubt. Rutherford was never in a college scrape himself; but he did sometimes do his best to extricate his classmates from difficulties into which their indiscretion had led them.

One day a student who was a prominent member of his class, and who had exhibited much more than the usual ability, was caught by the faculty while playing a practical joke. The trick gave the professors great offence, and it seemed probable that the student would be expelled in disgrace. Yet he was such an able and brilliant student, that the faculty debated the matter for some time, and at last came to the conclusion to give the student one chance of restoration. They decided, that should the student be willing to stand up before the classes when gathered for prayers, and, confessing his fault, ask the forgiveness of the teachers, he should be restored to favor. In some manner, the deliberations and decisions of the faculty



were made known to the class of which the delinquent was a member, and an indignation meeting was held to discuss the situation. There were speeches and resolutions, extolling the martyr who would sacrifice himself "to vindicate his honor;" and all were strenuously opposed to the terms offered to the suspended one. They told him never to yield. They would not make such a shameful concession. No, no! Death before such dishonor! The tide was all one way, and the young delinquent saw that he must choose one of two evils,—either be disgraced in the eyes of the faculty, or be considered a coward and a sneak by his classmates. When the matter was in that condition, young Hayes entered into the debate. It would be impossible to report now precisely the words which he used on that occasion; but, as near as his classmates recall them, they were as follows:—

"Fellows, this is all a mistake. It cannot be that you have stopped to think. Now, I know well what I should do if I had been caught in such a scrape, and had received such a proposition from the faculty. I should not wait a single hour before I went and asked their forgiveness. I tell you, fellows, we have friends at home who care nothing about our codes of honor, but to whom our disgrace would bring great sorrow. I would not put them to shame by refusing to do such a little thing as confessing publicly to the truth. If he did wrong, he ought to confess it. If it was not wrong in itself, but is so held by the faculty, it can do no

harm to tell the truth about it, and say he is sorry that he did it. I tell you, boys, it would be foolish to accept a lasting disgrace rather than acknowledge such a little shortcoming as that. If he don't do what the professors ask of him, he is a very foolish young man, and will regret it, and his family will regret it, down to his dying-day."

Those bold and sensible words changed the whole current of opinion ; and, when the time came for the student to confess, he had the approval and support of the entire class. That student is now one of the most honored and distinguished men of Ohio, and has continued from that day to this the faithful friend of his college champion.

Another classmate of young Hayes was an impetuous and brilliant young Southerner, who was unceasingly in trouble of some sort ; and to Hayes he was indebted for some of his escapes. He admired the "light-haired lad ;" and after years of separation, — in which the Southerner went from Congress into the Confederate Army, — he came forward promptly from his Texan home, and improved the first opportunity to do honor to his old schoolmate. Judge David Davis of the United States Supreme Court was also in college with Hayes.

Another of his classmates, and one to whom it appears young Hayes was much attached, was afterwards president of the college, and died while in the war, with the rank of colonel. The number of young Hayes's confi-

dential friends were, however, few, as he was so reticent in his manner, and so retiring in his natural disposition. He loved to kick the football, or to pull the oars with his companions, more for the satisfaction it seemed to give them than from any taste of his own for those sports; and he never intruded himself or his affairs upon them beyond those matters which were necessary for the life of the sport. When left to his own free choice, he preferred to go to the woods with a gun, and chase the wild game alone.

At his graduation, although he was not quite twenty years of age (1842), he was the leading favorite among professors and students, and stood at the head of his class. Glad day was that for mother, sister, and uncle, when his college-years were over, and he returned to them crowned with honor. It is doubtful if they would have been more pleased and proud, had they lived to see him the President of the United States.

## CHAPTER VII.

### AS A LAWYER.

Office Study. — At Cambridge University. — First Partnership. — Removal to Cincinnati. — Meagre Practice. — Effect of his Marriage. — Cincinnati Literary Club. — Hon. Stanley Mathews.

IMMEDIATELY after his graduation at Kenyon College, Hayes began the study of law in the office of Thomas Sparrow, Esq., then a prominent and successful practitioner at Columbus, O. His health had greatly improved, and his figure began to assume something of the robust appearance which characterized him in after-years. His college-life had given to study and literary labor a fascination which he could not resist; and he desired to adopt some profession in which there would be continuous mental work. It does not appear that he gave promise, at that time, of being a very fluent or eloquent speaker; neither does it appear that he selected the profession of law with any hope that it would lead to distinction. Certainly, at that time (1842), he had few of the characteristics which are usually taken to mark the fitness of a young man for either the bar or the forum. It is presumed that Uncle Birchard, with whom Hayes spent his vacations,

and whose interest in the youth was as active and engrossing as that of a father, had some hope, that, by means of the law, his Rutherford might achieve greatness; for to Sardis Birchard this young man was the brightest, noblest, wisest, and most eloquent youth which the world contained. He often foretold a great future for his ward; but his prophecies fell upon unbelieving ears.

There was one element of the young student's character to which, more than to any thing else, was due his remarkable success in whatever he undertook. He was thorough in all his work. He never was satisfied with a superficial knowledge of any thing. Whatever he desired to know he studied in all its phases, and did not leave it until all there was to be learned about that question had been fully digested. Such was his habit in matters of law. Blackstone was not so dull, nor Chitty so dry, as to discourage him; while every legal problem which presented itself went not unsolved if there were authorities, decisions, or reports enough within reach to settle the question beyond dispute. The special practice of a single law-office did not furnish him with the variety of cases, nor the complete libraries, with which to satisfy his desire for legal knowledge. He did not wish to limit his learning to a single branch of jurisprudence, as nothing short of knowing the whole would satisfy him. So he determined to leave the office of Mr. Sparrow, and take a course in the Harvard Law School at Cambridge, Mass.

His life at Cambridge was as quiet and retired as it was at Gambia; and there are classmates now living who do not remember him, either in name or appearance. He seems to have felt like a stranger in the Cambridge University, and to have studiously and persistently kept aloof from his classmates, who were either too busy with their own affairs, or in some cases too aristocratic in their tastes, to seek out the modest boy, or to cultivate his friendship. Those two years must have been dull years to him, unless, as is possible, he was so absorbed in contracts, torts, evidence, pleadings, crimes, and equity jurisprudence, and in the large libraries of books bearing upon the practice of law, that he did not notice the slow flight of time.

In 1845, after his graduation at the Law School, he was admitted to the bar during a session of the courts, at Marietta, O., and shortly after went into practice as an attorney-at-law, with Ralph P. Buckland of Fremont, O. It is somewhat remarkable, that whenever young Hayes selected a companion, a friend, or a partner, he almost invariably selected men who afterwards, by their achievements and successes, demonstrated the wisdom of his choice. His partner at Fremont—whether selected by himself, or accepted on the recommendation of his uncle, who still retained a great influence over him—was a strong and able advocate, and a kind, obliging friend. In after-years Mr. Buckland became a leader among the people, and in the war of the Rebellion he took an earnest part, becoming one of the

most trustworthy generals of the Union Army. After the war he was elected to a seat in Congress.

With him Hayes remained three years, having, according to reports, but a limited practice, and caring but little whether he had any at all. His uncle had become the wealthiest banker in that portion of the State, and, as Hayes felt sure that his uncle would make him his heir, he looked upon the acquisition of money as no object worth the effort. Here, again, was Hayes's life at variance with the usual record. His prospective riches and present assistance drew him into no extravagance, nor enticed him into vice. The fawning of flatterers, the wiles of bad company, had but little effect upon him; and their only visible influence upon the upright, honorable, and vigorous life, was a certain lack of motive, which showed itself in the conduct of his business. Men said, that "if Hayes was a poor boy, and dependent on his own earnings, he would make a great man." Why should he work while he had within reach all he desired? It is a dangerous position for a young man to occupy, and one which has been the ruin of thousands among our ablest youths. Its influence upon Hayes served only to confirm his desire for seclusion and quiet, — a feeling and a purpose wholly at variance with those qualities which usually attract the attention of a litigating public, from whom the lawyer draws his clients.

In 1849 Hayes moved to Cincinnati, O., where he entered upon the practice of law with more zeal. Yet

his progress in that city was exceedingly slow, although in after-years, while in partnership with such men as the Hon. R. M. Corwin, William Rogers, and Leopold Markbreit, the number of cases was so large, that he could not accept all those which came to him. Yet in the first years of his practice, it must have been lonesome, unprofitable business. Many young men would have abandoned the profession; and it may be that even he would have done so, had he been very ambitious, or felt the need of present funds.

As it was, he persevered with the undertaking, was always to be found at his post during business-hours, and was an accurate and trustworthy attorney in such matters as were then placed in his charge.

Two important events occurred during his stay in Cincinnati, which gave a new impulse to his ambition, and opened the way to both prosperity and distinction. The first and most important of these was his engagement and marriage to Miss Lucy Ware Webb, daughter of Dr. James Webb of Chillicothe, O. No one can estimate, nor could he explain, the refining and ennobling influence of a love such as that which the educated, refined, sprightly, and religious wife drew about him. With her there came a motive. The latent aspirations revived; and life appears from that time to have been to him a work and a duty. A holy desire to be a benefit to his fellow-man, and a determination to leave the world better and wiser than he found it, crept into his heart along with that love which in itself was purifying



and strengthening. We write as it appears to us, looking upon his life with nothing but the facts before us from which to deduce a motive. As we look upon the events of his career from the standpoint of a historian, we see that for some cause, from the time when he became attached to the lovely and pure-minded maiden, and even from the hour when he first met her at the bright spring in Delaware, and asked who the dark-eyed school-girl was, his life took in a new inspiration.

At Cincinnati this transition from a listless desire to do what is right, and take no thought for the future, to a man of mettle, full of hope and resolution, is strikingly apparent. It was there that he began his defence of the poor. It was there that the fugitive slave found in him a bold and successful advocate. It was there that the workingman found a staunch friend to mediate between him and the capitalist. It was there that the weak-minded and insane found a careful and affectionate protector. It was there that he showed the surprised people that a lawyer could be a Christian gentleman and a practical philanthropist. When, as in the case of Nancy Farrar, the idiotic poisoner, the judges were called upon to select some person to defend that ignorant and helpless one, they did not choose the aristocratic barrister, nor the blundering blusterer, but turned to this unassuming and almost unknown young lawyer, and asked him to undertake her defence. All such cases were gratefully received by him. In them he could engage his heart, as well as his intellect; and

to the second and even the third trial he pressed his cause, if success came not with the first verdict. Notwithstanding the fact that he made no claim to religious sanctity, nor pretended to be holier or purer than his fellows, yet there came into his acts, from some direction, nearly all the desires and motives which make up the characteristics of a biblical Christian. It may be that his mother retained her moral influence over him, and doubtless she did, in a certain degree, as his upright single life would seem to indicate. But here was an awakening, and a vigorous activity which seemed to be coincident with, and an offshoot of, his union with pure and holy womanhood.

The other event to which we referred was his introduction to the Cincinnati Literary Club, an institution which had been established some years before his advent in Cincinnati, and which was organized for purposes of literary, scientific, and social culture. It was an organization which drew to its membership the highest and best classes of society. There were many men there, like himself, who were young and hopeful, and who afterward became influential members of the community. There were Chief Justice S. P. Chase, Gen. John Pope, Gov. Edward F. Noyes, Gen. Manning F. Force, Robert W. Burnett, Judge John W. Herron, Gen. Alfred T. Goshorne, Hon. De Thew Wright of the Supreme Court of Ohio, Judge M. D. Oliver, Surgeon-Gen. William H. Muzzey, Hon. Reuben H. Stephenson, surveyor of customs at Cincinnati,

Hon. Charles P. Ames, Murat Halstead of "The Cincinnati Commercial," Samuel R. Reed of "The Cincinnati Gazette," and a host of others of like celebrity and ability. To a young man of Hayes's natural disposition, and, in fact, to any man in any station, such a circle of intimate acquaintances was of inestimable value.

There he was thrown into close relations with his old college-mate, the Hon. Stanley Mathews, with whom he has since retained such an intimate and brotherly relationship, that we cannot forbear inserting here a brief sketch of him who had such a marked effect upon the successes of nearly all of Hayes's subsequent undertakings. Judge Mathews was a Democrat in his early years, and was one of the most energetic and conscientious leaders of his party during the decade preceding the war of the Rebellion. Under Buchanan's administration, he was appointed United States District Attorney for the Southern District of Ohio. But the manner in which the president conducted the administration, and the increasing power of slavery, did not accord with Matthews's ideas of justice and right; and he resigned his office, and was outspoken in his denunciation of the slaveholders and their rebellious proceedings.

He afterwards entered the war as lieutenant-colonel in the same regiment with Major Hayes, where he remained until October, 1861, when he was commissioned colonel of the Fifty-first Ohio Regiment. He was in sev-

eral severe campaigns under Gen. Rosecrans and Gen. Buel, and was severely wounded at Dobbins Ferry in October, 1863. He was elected judge of the Court of Common Pleas, at Cincinnati, which office he held for eighteen months, and then resigned, preferring the privacy of his own office and practice to any position of public honor.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### HIS FIRST OFFICE.

**Increase of Legal Business. — His Part in Discussions and Recitations.**

— The Summons Murder Case. — Hon. Thomas Ewing's Opinion.

— Election by City Council. — Election by the People. — Increasing Desire for Work.

WITH the extension of Hayes's acquaintance came, also, an extension of his legal practice. The ability which he displayed when prevailed upon to take part in the discussions of the club, his readiness as a conversationalist, and more especially his rendering of the speeches of Daniel Webster, when selected to read or recite them in public exercises, attracted the attention of his associates, and gave them confidence in his ability. Thus with an increasing desire to work, inspired by a Christian home and a growing business acquaintance, with its consequent increase of business, Rutherford B. Hayes entered upon an era of professional prosperity seldom excelled even in this land of anomalies.

One of the most noted murder-cases tried in Ohio, known as the "Summons Case," was carried through by him in a masterly manner, and drew to him the atten-

tion of the whole State. The final hearing of the case was before the Supreme Court at Columbus, of which Judge Thurman (afterwards senator) was a member. The court-room was crowded with noted lawyers from all parts of the State, among whom was the Hon. Thomas Ewing, who congratulated Hayes after the trial in most emphatic terms.

In 1856 he was nominated for the office of judge of the court of Common Pleas; but he declined to accept the nomination. In 1858 the office of solicitor for the city of Cincinnati was made vacant by the death of Judge Hart; and the city council, very unexpectedly to Hayes, elected him for the unexpired term preceding the next election. It was only after much urging, that he was prevailed upon to accept the position; but, after he did step into the office, he performed its duties with most praiseworthy despatch and with unusual ability. So acceptable were his services, that he was chosen by the people at the next election, running over five hundred votes ahead of his ticket. His failure of election to a second term was in no wise a matter personal to him, as there was a combination against others, which swept the entire ticket.

He was then (1861) at the zenith of a professional life. He stood among the leaders of his profession. He had conquered every obstacle, and had but to attend to his duties for a few hours in the day to be independent of want, and crowned with professional honors.

His sister Fannie was married to a wealthy dealer in

silver-ware, named William A. Platt, and died at his residence in Columbus, O., in 1856. But his mother lived ten years longer, and died in 1866. So that with his mother, uncle, and wife, and with wealth and honor, he would seem to be in a fair way to settle down to permanent comfort, and dismiss all those earthly cares which so harass and vex the major portion of the people. Then, if ever, was a time in his life when he could reasonably rest satisfied, and dwell under his own vine and fig-tree in peace. But he was less inclined to rest then than ever before; and he hastened on, fulfilling the purpose of the almighty Architect of his fortunes.

## CHAPTER IX.

### THE BEGINNING OF THE REBELLION.

**Determination to enlist. — The Burnett Rifles. — Hayes's Opinion of the War. — Campaign in West Virginia. — Resignation of Lieut.-Col. Mathews. — Promotion of Major Hayes. — Military Expeditions. — Placed in Command of the Twenty-third Ohio. — Raid on Princeton.**

ALTHOUGH a portion of the political record which we insert in this book was made by Mr. Hayes before the opening of the War of the Rebellion, yet it will serve the reader's purpose better to place it with other accounts of his official and public life which will be found in subsequent chapters. We enter now upon the history and discussion of his life as a soldier. It began just at that time in his life when every thing seemed to allure him into retirement, and when he could have left the field of active life without betraying any public confidence, or sacrificing any thing dear to himself. But the very first news of the attack on Fort Sumter found him eager to take up arms in the sacred cause. The Cincinnati Literary Club, of which he had become a leading member, organized a military company from its own members; and Hayes was an active par-



ticipant in the organization and subsequent meetings of the company. The "Burnett Rifles," as it was called, was in many respects a remarkable company of men. It numbered among its members a large number of the wealthiest and most talented men of that great city. There were thirty-five lawyers in the company, twenty-three of whom became officers in the Union army; and several became generals. The total number of commissioned officers which were taken from the club could not have been less than seventy-five.

In all the meetings,—which were then held every Saturday night,—Mr. Hayes was active and zealous in arousing a feeling of loyalty and patriotism.

On the 4th of January, 1861, Mr. Hayes wrote a letter upon the political situation, illustrating his views; from which we quote a paragraph:—

"South Carolina has passed a secession ordinance, and Federal laws are set at nought in the State. Overt acts enough have been committed, forts and arsenals having been taken, a revenue-cutter seized, and Major Anderson besieged in Fort Sumter. Other cotton States are about to follow. Disunion and civil war are at hand; and yet I fear disunion and war less than compromise. We can recover from them. The free States alone, if we must go on alone, will make a glorious nation. I do not feel gloomy when I look forward. The reality is less frightful than the apprehension which we have all had these many years. Let us be temperate, calm, and just, but firm and resolute.

Crittenden's compromise ! Windham, speaking of the rumor that Bonaparte was about to invade England, said, 'The danger of invasion is by no means equal to that of peace. A man may escape a pistol, no matter how near his head, but not a dose of poison.' "

As early as the 15th of April, 1861, Mr. Hayes entertained the idea of entering into the contest, and often declared, that, should there be a war, he should be in it. Every inducement to remain at home, and take his ease, was held out to him ; but he resolutely abandoned all idea of rest or of luxury, until his country was out of danger. When the three-months' troops were called for, he condemned the policy of organizing men for so short a period, and declared that he would wait a little while, and not be in too great haste, as he foresaw a long struggle ; and troops must soon be called into service for a term of years. To men about him, who said that the war would close in sixty days, he promptly predicted a long and bloody war ; and declared, that, whatever its length, he should go in to fight until the end.

About four weeks after the massacre of the Massachusetts troops in Baltimore, he wrote to a friend as follows : viz., —

" Mathews and I have agreed to go into the service for the war ; if possible, into the same regiment. I spoke my feelings to him, which he said were his also ; viz., that this was a just and necessary war ; that it demanded the whole power of the country ; and that I would

prefer to go into it, if I knew I was to die, or be killed in the course of it, rather than to live through and after it, without taking any part in it."

Mathews and Hayes were fast friends, and in this matter their ideas and desires were completely in unison. They together tendered their services to Gov. Dennison, and together were accepted. It was the governor's idea to place each in command of a regiment under the first call for three-years' men; but neither of them would consent to be separated, or to be placed at the head of a regiment. With characteristic modesty they reasoned that the colonel should be an experienced officer, who could teach his subordinates the art of war; and they dwelt upon their unfitness, as civilians, for so important a post. So it was agreed that the governor should appoint some regular army officer as colonel, and they would go out in some subordinate position. Very soon after, a sufficient number of companies came into the volunteer camp from various parts of the State to organize into a regiment; and the governor sent for Hayes and Mathews to take their commissions as major and lieutenant-colonel. These were promptly accepted, Hayes preferring the office of major; and, with W. S. Rosecrans as colonel, the Twenty-third Ohio Volunteers was prepared for war. But, before the regiment was called into the field, Col. Rosecrans was promoted to a brigadier-general, and another graduate of West Point, Col. Scammon, was commissioned in his place.

The regiment arrived at Clarksburg, West Va., on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, July 27, 1861, and was placed on garrison duty, to defend the railroad, and protect the border from raids. Clarksburg was a strategic point from which the garrison could easily and quickly move to the boundary of either Maryland, Pennsylvania, or Ohio, while it was also a convenient rendezvous for troops intended to operate in West Virginia. The fact that he was stationed there was one of the great events in Major Hayes's life, and led directly to the distinction he afterward attained. Had he been sent to the Army of the Potomac, or the Mississippi River, he would have seen more bloody contests, and been compelled to endure greater hardships, than came to his lot in West Virginia; but he would not have been so often mentioned in the newspapers of Ohio, nor would his townsmen and acquaintances have taken such an active interest in him and his command. The people of Ohio, and especially those of Cincinnati, were in constant fear of an attack by the rebels, and they often had the best of reasons for believing that the enemy was bent on their destruction: hence they had an unceasing interest in the movements and mettle of the Union troops on the border. The soldiers who garrisoned the towns in West Virginia, adjacent to the Ohio State line, were looked upon as defenders of Ohio, and received the scrutinizing attention of the people of Ohio; while other troops, engaged in deadlier strife and more arduous marches, were naturally overlooked

and forgotten. Had Major Hayes been engaged in the more active campaigns of the war, he would, doubtless, have received more speedy promotion, and would have been regarded as a greater soldier ; but all that would have so changed the current of his life, that it may be regarded as providential that he was not so placed.

Gen. W. S. Rosecrans, former colonel of the Twenty-third, was in command of the post at Clarksburg ; and it was there that he first drew the attention of the war department, by his successful and skilful manœuvres among the bushwhackers and raiders who infested his district. The Twenty-third was not allowed much ease, and was often sent upon expeditions of more or less importance, which involved some skirmishing and more marching, without reaping much glory. Major Hayes was often connected with those marches ; but in the more quiet and inactive months of the summer (1861) he served on Gen. Rosecrans's staff as judge advocate.

It is surprising that Major Hayes did not make more enemies during those months ; for, of all the positions which the army offered to men, the one most exposed to censure and revenge was that of judge advocate. It may be that he saw and felt the embarrassments of the office, as others have seen and felt them, and for that reason remained in the office but so short a period ; yet it does not appear that he met with any opposition, but, having a kind of charmed existence, he left that position, as he did every other, with the praise and thanks of all with whom he had to deal. He was naturally

kind, honest, and just,—qualities which command respect everywhere. He rejoined his regiment at Sutton before the battle of Carnifex Ferry; and here, too, Lieut.-Col. Mathews, who had been detached from the regiment on scouting expeditions with several companies, came into camp, and prepared for the conflict. The exigencies of the battle did not, however, call for the use of the Twenty-third, which was held in reserve, except a flank movement made by a few companies, under command of Major Hayes, to threaten the enemy's rear. This was done promptly and effectively, without loss, and without coming into close action with the enemy. Afterwards, in the latter part of September, the regiment with Major Hayes went into camp with the army at Mount Sewall, in front of Lee; but the bad weather and worse roads compelled both armies to fall back; and the Twenty-third took up their quarters at Camp Ewing, near Point Lookout, Va.

From this camp, Lieut.-Col. Mathews went to Ohio on leave of absence, and while at home (October) was promoted by Gov. Dennison to the command of the Fifty-first Ohio Regiment; and he immediately resigned his commission as lieutenant-colonel of the Twenty-third, and entered upon those campaigns in the southwest which did him and his State so much honor. Major Hayes was at once promoted to the vacancy made by the resignation of Lieut.-Col. Matthews; and by reason of the absence of Col. Scammon, acting brigadier-general, Lieut.-Col. Hayes was left in com-

mand of the Twenty-third. The winter of 1861-62 was passed by Lieut.-Col. Hayes and his command in scouting over the mountains, and raiding into the interior of Virginia, being an occupation attracting but little attention, and calling for but little display of bravery, yet more trying, by its long marches and useless results, than a series of battles would have been. On several occasions he had narrow escapes from death; and at one time he fell into an ambuscade, from which the bullets hissed all about him, the bushwhackers having a cross-fire upon him at short range. But he escaped without injury, exhibiting a coolness which increased his popularity among his men as a military leader.

On the 1st of May he took a small detachment of men, and made a bold attack upon Princeton, which was garrisoned by a strong force of the enemy, and considered by them a point of considerable strategic importance. So unexpected and so impetuous was his charge, that the rebels fled at the first fire, leaving their ammunition and arms behind for the Union troops to destroy or carry away. Several prisoners were taken, and such works as served for rebel defences were destroyed.

## CHAPTER X.

### HAYES IN VIRGINIA.

**First Trial in Manœuvring Troops under Fire. — Attacked by Superior Numbers. — Fighting and Retreating. — Long Marches. — Commissioned as Colonel. — His Attachment to his Old Command. — Arrival at Washington. — March into Maryland.**

ON the 10th of May, 1862, Lieut.-Col. Hayes had his first trial in manœuvring troops under fire; and his conduct was such as to gain the commendation of his commanding officer, and led, as we suppose, to the promotion which followed so soon after the news of his success reached Columbus. He was stationed at a little hamlet known as Giles Court House, or Parisburg, in Virginia, and had under his command nine companies of the Twenty-third, five hundred cavalry, and a single section of light artillery, when a force of the enemy, afterwards ascertained to number nearly four thousand, and commanded by Gen. Heath, made an attack upon the village. It was evident to every one who saw the approach of the enemy in two columns, that it would be a foolhardy undertaking for that little band of Union soldiers to attempt a defence of the unfortified village, while it seemed to be a matter of grave



doubt whether they would be able to escape without capture. If the hasty advice of some of the officers had been acted upon, the little force would have started off upon the run, and would, of course, have been all captured by the enemy's cavalry. The attack had evidently been arranged with a view to such a result; as the pickets were driven in early in the day, and a small flanking party of the rebels was sent by a long *détour* to the rear, for the purpose of picking up the stragglers. Lieut.-Col. Hayes comprehended the situation at a glance, and, knowing just what work was before him, if he escaped at all, went about it deliberately, yet promptly. There was no sign of danger in his movements, no show of anxiety, except a somewhat unusual display of firmness and determination. He disposed of his cavalry on his right and left, and sent out his skirmishers so as to detect any flank movement of the foe, and then, calmly and without the least appearance of haste, marched back toward the mountain and his base of supplies. Wherever the ground was such that the cavalry could hold the pursuers in check, the infantry were sent back, and then the cavalry withdrawn; and, where the ground was too broken for cavalry movements, the infantry confronted the Confederates until the cavalry were safely through the defile. Thus deliberately and compactly retreating, the little body of troops kept on their way, keeping off their pursuers, and, by their formidable column, frightening the flanking party, who had not come around for

the purpose of fighting, but simply to pick up one by one the straggling band of panic-stricken soldiers they expected to see. Lieut.-Col. Hayes was so calm and unconcerned in his movements, giving his orders one after the other as each was obeyed, and so completely outwitting his opponent, who was expecting a sure victory by some break in his lines, that the men partook largely of his spirit, and executed their orders promptly, and with a feeling that it was, after all, a matter of form; for, with such a man as Hayes showed himself to be, defeat was an impossibility. They shouted, and tossed their hats, whenever he passed by, notwithstanding their hunger and fatigue, showing him how well they appreciated his generalship, and at the same time giving the pursuers an idea that the shouts were the greetings of re-enforcements. For more than five miles, they thus retreated, keeping the foe at a safe distance, and at last, toward evening, evading him altogether by disappearing, with but little loss, into the fortifications of the main army, and soon after marching again to the front with re-enforcements. Hayes did not, however, escape without a wound, as he was struck by a piece of shell, and partially disabled, while under fire; but this did not disturb his equanimity at the time, nor unfit him for active service afterward.

On the 13th of July, the Twenty-third Regiment, then encamped at Flat Top Mountain, was ordered to report at once at a station called Green Meadows, not far from Pack's Ferry, on New River; from which place

they were again hurried, Aug. 15, to Camp Piatt, on the Kanawha River, a distance of a hundred and fourteen miles, which, it is said, they traversed on foot in a little less than three days. From this point, they were taken on transports to the Ohio River, and up that river to Parkersburg, where they took the cars for Washington, D.C., arriving there on the 24th.

Early in the month of August, he was promoted to be colonel of the Seventy-ninth Ohio Regiment, without any previous intimation to him that such an honor was intended. It appears that the promotion did not meet with his approval, and his soldiers say that his acceptance of the position was not certain, had he not been prevented, as he was, by an exciting campaign. He had been with the Twenty-third now more than a year: he was acquainted with them, understood their wants and character, while they were equally well acquainted with his manner and disposition. He loved them, and they loved him. He had rather be a lieutenant-colonel with them than a colonel with strangers. While he hesitated, Gen. Lee crossed into Maryland with his great Confederate army, and, amid the wildest excitement, troops were called in from all points to oppose him. Exaggerated reports of the mighty hosts who were marching toward Baltimore, Harrisburg, and Philadelphia, awakened the patriotism and heroism of every true soldier. Hayes's regiment had been incorporated in Gen. J. D. Cox's division of Burnside's command, in the Army of the Potomac; and while he

was considering the question of accepting the promotion, and a little uncertain whether the issuing of his new commission left him in the service or out of it, the Twenty-third was ordered into Maryland, and he resolved at all events to stand by the boys until that contest was over.

The battle of South Mountain, Sept. 14, 1862, would have been recorded in the annals of our nation as a great battle, had it not been followed the very next day by the more fatal and important contest at Antietam; and to that we must devote the next chapter.

## CHAPTER XI.

### BATTLE OF SOUTH MOUNTAIN.

**View of Catoctin Valley. — Appearance of the Army. — The Order to advance. — The Skirmish Line. — The Discharge of Grape and Canister. — Col. Hayes wounded. — Regiment under Major Comley. — Return to the Field of Col. Hayes. — Charges by the Twenty-third Ohio.**

THE morning of the 14th of September, 1862, dawned over the rugged cliffs of the Upper Potomac, disclosing a scene such as the world has seldom witnessed, and which to this country was wholly new and strange. A vast army, countless to the spectator, began, with the first light of day, to crowd into the Catoctin Valley from the Potomac River, and to press in between the converging cliffs of the Catoctin and South Mountain ranges of mountains in pursuit of another large army. The rebel Gen. Lee, with an army of sixty thousand men, had passed up that same valley, and crossed the South Mountain Range at Turner's Gap, only the day before, leaving his rear guard of five brigades, under Gen. D. H. Hill, to defend that pass, and hold the top of the mountain, until Gen. McLaws should capture the traitorous or imbecile Miles and his unfortunate

troops at Harper's Ferry, and have time to join Lee at Hagerstown. The whole Union army was in motion that morning; and from the cragged peaks on either side of the road, cut through the crest of the mountain at Turner's Gap, the Confederate signal corps looked down upon the broad green valley, and noted the movements of their pursuers. At the foot of the mountain lay the little village of Middletown, with its scattered dwellings partially hid in the trees. The various windings of its little creek were clearly marked from that point away to where the valley emerged into a wide plain, through which the glittering, shimmering Potomac peacefully pursued its way to the sea. It was a magnificent sight. Roads crossing each other at irregular intervals traversed the valley, dividing white fields of grain, and green patches of grassland, and losing themselves in the ragged mountains upon either side, or seeming to descend into the Potomac through the green curtain of shrubbery which covered its banks. Through all those roads, over many of those fields, and filing down the mountain-paths, a great host of armed men was hurrying on, with its flags fluttering in the breeze, its bayonets gleaming in the increasing light, and its background of dark blue uniforms assuming various shades as it wound into a nearer field, or wheeled into a cross-road. Swift horsemen played back and forth from column to column, like shuttles in a loom; while here and there the polished guns of some light battery, or the bright trapping of a squadron of cavalry, would gleam for a moment as

it passed over some hillock, and disappeared quickly among the trees, or into some depression in the roadway.

Far down the valley, the rebel observers could see the dark winding lines of the left wing of the Union army as it left the main body, and crept along toward the mountains by the road which led over the same range they occupied, but far to the southward of them. Ah! as they sat and watched the approaching foe hastening through fields, and galloping up by-roads, and as they glanced back at the blue hills beyond the Potomac, and felt that soon must come that conflict when hissing Minie-balls, and crashing, screaming shells, would make a hell of those sylvan shades around them, they could not have been human, if they did not yearn to be back in the sunny homes beyond the hazy horizon.

To the troops of the national army, who had encamped the previous day at the base of the mountains in the village of Middletown, and among whom was the enthusiastic Twenty-third Ohio and its commander, Col. Hayes, the scene was less extensive, but not less grand. As the light of dawn appeared beyond Catoclin cliffs, and began to reveal the outlines of the valley, and as they who had arrived in the gloom of the previous night started from their hard and comfortless beds of grass or wood, the towering mountains, the dark woodland, and the half-revealed multitude moving about them, must have been full of weird and exciting interest. To the soldier who knows not the

plans of his leaders, and to whom every movement is full of uncertainty and imbued with a kind of romantic adventure, the features of the strange landscapes among which he finds himself are matters of great importance, and make an indelible impression. Such was the effect of that scene upon those who saw it that day. Those warriors may forget from whose cup or canteen they drank their morning coffee; they may not recall the names of those from whom they borrowed hard-bread, or with whom they divided their little store of sugar; and they may even fail to remember what companies of artillery camped with them on the previous night, or how many regiments filed off into the woods on their right or left: but the plains, the hills, the trees, the rocks, are fixed in their minds, and will never fade away. And to them, who, on that fatal morning, saw the hasty dismounting of staff officers bearing orders to subordinate commanders, and heard that quick, sharp roll of the drums, and that order to "fall in," the mountain before them was a painful feature in the landscape. They knew not McClellan's plans; but they did know that they had been marching toward this mountain, that they were following Lee's army, and that the road in front of them led up and over toward the enemy's camp. They knew by the flags, and the stories of the pickets relieved at daylight, that the rebels held the top of the mountain, and intended to keep it if possible. They knew, too, by the shaping of past events, and the mass-



ing of troops at Middletown, that there was to be a battle up in the trees among those peaks and ledges which flanked the coveted pass. Some of them felt that morning, when they packed away their blankets, and strapped together their canteens and tin cups, that their hands would never unpack or unstrap them again. Men looked up to that pile of wooded rocks before them, and shuddered while they waited for the command to move forward. Yet survivors of that day tell us that the men under Hayes's command joked one another upon the prospect; and one exclaimed, as he saw his comrade trying to tie his plate to his belt-strap, —

“Say, Bill, hadn't you better give me that plate? You won't need it again.” And they say the same soldier was found that night with his plate still tied to his belt, but broken and rent by the piece of a shell which laid him dead on the side of the mountain.

Another soldier from Bellefontaine said to his lieutenant, —

“It looks squally up yonder, and I shouldn't wonder if some of us never got to the top. So I've written a letter home, and it's in my cartridge-box, between the leather and the tin; and, should I get knocked over, just send it along for me.”

That evening he was among the missing; and neither his lieutenant nor his bereaved family knew just where nor how he died, until a prisoner taken at Fredericksburg, Va., who had on that cartridge-box, unconsciously

brought the letter therein into our camp, where it was accidentally discovered. That prisoner saw the writer of the letter as he fell off the cliff, struck by a musket-ball, during one of the fiercest charges, and afterwards took from the dead body the cartridge-box and belt; and thus was his name taken from the "missing," and added to the list of "killed at South Mountain."

The soldiers of the Twenty-third had not seen such a campaign before, nor had they been often under fire; yet the vicissitudes of army life had in various ways depleted their number, until the roll-call that morning showed but three hundred and ten men,—a small company when compared with the confident one thousand which left Camp Dennison a little more than a year before. But no paucity of numbers affected their courage. Their commander remained with them while he was honorably at liberty to go home. He did not seem to fear; and why should they?

It was seven o'clock that morning, when the order came to move up the mountain towards Turner's Gap, keeping well out to the right and left of the Boonsborough road, which was the only highway leading to the gap. A detachment of Pleasanton's cavalry moved up the road, closely followed by a light battery and the Twenty-third Ohio, together with several other regiments of Cox's command. The Twenty-third struck to the left of the Boonsborough highway, and ascended by another, half-abandoned, ragged roadway running over the range some distance to the south of Turner's Gap.

It was not long before the clambering troops began to see little whiffs of white smoke in the edge of the woodland above them; then came the hum of bullets high over their heads, closely followed by the reports of muskets, indicating that they were approaching the enemy's skirmish lines. As they drew still nearer and began to advance in line of battle, over stumps, bowlders, fences, trees, through ravines and over knolls, the mountain-side became steeper, the cracking of musketry more incessant; while the bursting of shells, and hissing of solid shot, made the air overhead vocal with hideous, blood-curdling sounds.

It was expected, by the general commanding, that Cox's division would be able to turn the flank of Hill's troops, and then bring to bear the whole body of the Federal troops arrayed in his front, and defeat him while in the confusion consequent upon such a manoeuvre, when successful. But the ability and courage of the enemy had been underrated; for when the rebel general, Garland, with his brigade of veterans, advanced down the mountains to meet the Union troops, he was not left unsupported, nor was every thing staked on his success. Hence, when that brave Confederate general was killed, and his troops almost annihilated by the impetuous charges and steady firing of the Union troops, Gen. Longstreet, who had meantime superseded Gen. Hill, skilfully confronted the victors with the brigades of Anderson, Rodes, and Ripley, three lines deep, intrenched behind logs, stone walls, trees, and

bowlders. As Col. Scammon's brigade, in which was the Twenty-third, advanced upon the enemy that morning, the enemy opened fire from their artillery posted on the knolls in the rear of their line of battle; and so close was the range, and so accurate their aim, that the rebel grape, canister and musket-balls, literally stripped the trees of every leaf, and turned up the ground about the advancing soldiers as if it had been systematically ploughed. Men could not breast such a torrent, and live. As the Twenty-third clambered over a rising stretch of ground toward the enemy, a blinding discharge of grapeshot met them full in the face, and, in an instant, more than a hundred of them lay upon the ground, dead or wounded. Five officers were struck by the storm of missiles; and among them Col. Hayes went down with a broken arm.

Yet the brave regiment did not retreat, save when directed to seek the cover of rocks near by them; and they obeyed the orders of Major J. C. Comley, a brave officer who succeeded to the command, as briskly and promptly as though the ground was not strewn with their dying comrades, or the next movement did not threaten to sweep them away in the same manner. It was a fearful ordeal, — more dreadful, because the word had passed from man to man that the colonel was killed.

While they paused for re-enforcements, and just as a dangerous flank movement of the enemy was discovered, there was a momentary suspense while the troops hardly knew which foe to face; when suddenly Col. Hayes, with

a handkerchief tied around his arm, appeared to his surprised command, and, against the protests of friends, again took the lead. His return awakened great enthusiasm; and the little remnant of his regiment was ready to be in the fight again. They had not long to wait, before the advance of the flanking party brought them again into close action, and kept them in battle throughout the entire day.

That was a sad, and a glorious day for the Twenty-third, — sad, inasmuch as they had seen their comrades mowed down with the murderous discharge of grape and canister. They had heard their cries from between the lines, when it was impossible to help them: they had seen their friends, all through the day, dropping before the missiles of the enemy, or falling bleeding in the hand-to-hand encounter. It was glorious in the recollections of their steady advance, their impetuous defeat of two divisions, their gallant charge with the Forty-fifth New York and One Hundredth Pennsylvania, saving the battery which was already in the clutches of an exultant enemy, and in holding their ground with sublime heroism when wounds and death had left but one hundred to face the foe. Their flag was in rags, having been again and again riddled by the bullets and shell of the enemy. Their commander had fought, until, fainting with loss of blood, he was carried from the field, for which valor he was afterwards complimented by Gen. Cox.

They felt then that they were no longer unreliable

troops, but veterans ; and ever after, in the many battles they fought, the lesson and experience of South Mountain, and the conduct of their commander there, kept them cool under fire, and made them irresistible in a charge.

## CHAPTER XII.

### WOUNDS AND PROMOTION.

Effect of his Wound at South Mountain. — Search for him by his Wife.  
— Promoted to be Colonel of the Twenty-third. — Placed in Command of the Kanawha Division. — Prevents Morgan's Escape from Ohio. — A Quiet Year of Camp Life.

WHEN Col. Hayes was carried from the battlefield, he was taken down the mountain to a little old house already occupied by a score or more of wounded men. He was so exhausted, that his brother-in law, Dr. Webb, who was surgeon of his regiment, scarcely hoped to save his life ; while Col. Hayes himself abandoned all hope of saving his arm from amputation. There he lay through the eventful days of Antietam, while his regiment were crowning themselves with honor, being in the thickest of that fight, and having their colors and many comrades shot down as they charged upon the foe.

Meantime the reports of the battle, with lists of the killed and wounded, appeared in the Cincinnati papers ; and, the tidings being communicated to Col. Hayes's wife, she hastened to find him, having nothing but the fact of his having been wounded at South Mountain to guide her. As the wounded had been carried back from

the field, and left in the houses, barns, and sheds for more than twenty miles to the rear, that devoted woman made many a useless trip, looked upon many a ghastly spectacle, before she came at last to the house where her husband lay.

A writer in "The Cincinnati Commercial" thus speaks of Col. Hayes as he was seen the day after the battle of Antietam :—

"After going the rounds of the hospitals in and adjacent to the field of Antietam, Capt. Looker was associated with Surgeon-Gen. Weber and other Ohio surgeons as a detail to escort an ambulance train filled with wounded soldiers down to Frederick, Md., where all the churches, hotels, and public buildings of all kinds, had been prepared for their reception.

"On the way down, and reaching a little village called Middletown just after dark, the citizens of the town insisted that the train should stop long enough for them to supply the wounded men with cups of coffee, tea, &c. This request was complied with; and the train lay there three or four hours.

"During the delay, Surgeon-Gen. Weber and Capt. Looker walked through the village, making inquiries for Ohio soldiers, and, much to their surprise, learned that Lieut.-Col. R. B. Hayes had been brought there from South Mountain, where he was wounded (and only a few miles from Middletown), and was then believed to be somewhere in the village. Procuring a lantern, they began to explore the town in search of



Col. Hayes. After visiting about a dozen houses, in which were wounded officers and soldiers, and holding the light of the lantern in the faces of the poor fellows, they came across a little, old, dilapidated two-story brick building, and going up a rickety pair of stairs, and through a narrow hall, flanked on both sides with diminutive rooms, were rewarded by the discovery of Col. Hayes, lying in bed, and attended by his faithful and loving wife and his brother-in-law, surgeon of his regiment, Dr. Joe Webb. Mrs. Hayes had only just found her husband, after having looked through all the hospitals from Washington City to Middletown.

“The colonel and his lady expressed delight at the visit from Ohio men, and permitted Surgeon-Gen. Weber to examine the wound. After a pleasant chat, and a detailing of news from home, the Ohio gentlemen took their departure. It seems, that, a few hours before the visit, the colonel, fearing mortification, had requested Surgeon Webb to amputate his arm; but Dr. Webb had decided not to do so, and to make an attempt to save the arm. After examining the wound, Surgeon-Gen. Weber corroborated Dr. Webb’s decision, and left both the colonel and his good wife in the best of spirits.

“The parting words of the colonel to his Ohio visitors, as he lay there suffering with his wound, were, ‘*Tell Gov. Tod that I’ll be on hand again shortly.*’ His future career proved that he was always ‘on hand,’ where hard fighting and sound judgment were needed, during the remainder of the War of the Rebellion.”

Col. Hayes suffered severely, and was unable to enter upon active duty for several weeks. The regiment, after many marches and counter-marches, was at last (Oct. 8) ordered back to West Virginia, with the Kanawha division; and it arrived at Clarksburg on the 15th of October. While there, the men learned that Col. Scammon had been promoted to brigadier-general, and that Gov. Dennison had revoked the commission to Col. Hayes to command the Seventy-ninth, and issued a new commission to him as colonel of the Twenty-third; and their demonstrations of gratification were as deeply felt as they were boisterous. He did not, however, personally command the regiment in any subsequent battles, as he was detached from it soon after his recovery, to act as brigadier-general, and (Dec. 25, 1862) placed in command of the celebrated Kanawha division, to which the Twenty-third was attached. From that time to the next March, Col. Hayes had a season of quiet; and the soldiers found at the Kanawha Falls an opportunity to recuperate their worn and shattered bodies. But on the 15th of March, the division was ordered to Charleston, Va., from which point it made many raids into the Confederacy, destroying stores of salt, ammunition, clothing, and crops, and capturing many prisoners. A writer who has since been on the most intimate terms with Col. Hayes, writes of one of these expeditions, which is especially deserving of record:

“In June, 1863, an expedition comprising three brigades (one of them that of Col. Hayes), with cavalry

and artillery, was despatched to South-western Virginia, with the view of capturing Saltville, and breaking up the Virginia and Tennessee Railway. Starting from the Upper Kanawha, the expedition marched through a frightfully wild and rugged country, and, after crossing several ranges of mountains, struck and tore up the railway, raided the neighboring country, and, returning by a tedious and difficult march, arrived within fifteen miles of Fayetteville, July 23. During all this time, the command had been entirely separated from mail communication, and knew nothing of the stirring events that had happened in other departments, including the surrender of Vicksburg, Lee's defeat at Gettysburg, and John Morgan's raid north of the Ohio. Col. Hayes, therefore, rode forward to Fayetteville to obtain information, and, on reaching the town, galloped at once to the telegraph-office, where, without dismounting, he called to the operator through the open window, 'What's the news?' The man at the instrument turned, and was about to give him a brief history of events, when a signal came over the wires; and the man said, 'Hold, I'm called.' Col. Hayes then went into the office, and read the following despatch as it came from the instrument:—

“‘John Morgan is crossing the Scioto at Piketon, O., and is making for Gallipolis. He will arrive there day after to-morrow.’

“This was startling news to Col. Hayes. ‘John Morgan in Ohio,’ he exclaimed, ‘and making for

Gallipolis!’ The operator then explained that the rebel raider was hardly beset by Union cavalry, and that he was evidently seeking escape from the State by crossing the Ohio River at Gallipolis, where there was no adequate force to dispute his passage, or to protect large quantities of supplies which had been collected there. Col. Hayes comprehended the situation in an instant, and as quickly sent this despatch flashing over the wires : —

“ ‘Are there any steamboats at Charleston?’

“ ‘Yes, two,’ was the almost immediate answer.

“ ‘Send them up to Fayetteville at once,’ Hayes responded.

“ ‘All right,’ replied the Charleston quartermaster.

“ Col. Hayes, without having received another word of information, jumped into the saddle, and galloped back to camp fifteen miles. He reached camp at night-fall, and laid the whole matter before Gen. Scammon, who gave him permission to take two regiments, and a section of artillery, and hasten to Gallipolis. He then announced his purpose to the soldiers, who greeted his orders with wild hurrahs. In half an hour his little column was in motion, groping its way along the rough mountain-road. The night was moonless, and the darkness sometimes so intense, that the regiments were compelled to halt until the clouds cleared, before they could go forward. All night the weary march was continued; and, just as dawn began to streak the summits of the mountains, the column, reaching a high

point overlooking the Kanawha Valley, near Fayetteville, saw the two steamboats rounding a bend, and coming up the river. The troops and the boats reached the wharf almost simultaneously ; and, within an hour, the whole command had embarked, and the steamers were under full headway down the Kanawha, their decks strewn with tired and sleeping soldiers. By daylight the next morning, the boats reached Gallipolis, and the troops disembarked, and took positions to defend the town. But Morgan had been advised by spies of their approach when six miles away, and turned his column northward toward Pomeroy, another point on the Ohio. Col. Hayes instantly re-embarked, and steamed up the river to overtake him. He arrived in time to go out and meet the enemy while advancing upon the town ; but Morgan's officers were not long in discovering that something tougher was in front of them than militia regiments ; and they suddenly drew off, remounted, and made for Buffington's Island, a point still farther up the river. Here Morgan seized a steamboat, and had ferried over about three hundred of his men, when Col. Hayes arrived, seized the boat, and put a stop to any further progress in that line. Morgan himself had crossed the river ; but, seeing that his main body was about to be cut off, he recrossed, and remained with his soldiers to share their fortunes. After some fighting, he drew off again, and made for other points up the river. But the last opportunity for escape had passed ; and the Confederate raiders,

hardly beset by Gens. Hobson and Shackelford, were speedily driven to the wall, and forced to surrender."

Col. Hayes returned to Virginia immediately after the capture of Morgan, whose escape would have been certain, but for Col. Hayes's prompt action, and decided presentation of the matter to Gen. Scammon. And though no action or campaign of historic interest called attention to his command for nearly a year afterwards, yet it was a period of activity and ceaseless vigilance. That period of silence and comparative activity was broken, however, April 29, 1864, when the Kanawha division was ordered to join the forces gathering near Brownston, on the Upper Kanawha River, from which point a raid was to be made on the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad in accordance with Gen. Grant's order for a general advance of all our armies. Then began a series of forced marches and hard-fought battles, in which Col. Hayes appeared in his conspicuous position as brigadier-general, and hence deserving of more particular notice.

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## CHAPTER XIII.

### BATTLE OF CLOYD MOUNTAIN.

**March up the Kanawha. — Approach to Cloyd Mountain. — Hayes's Charge across the Meadow. — The Contest at the Fortifications. — Capture of Guns. — Death of the Confederate General. — Destruction of the Railroad. — Long and Dangerous March. — Arrival at Staunton, Va.**

GEN GRANT considered that the disturbance of Gen. Lee's railroad connections with the south was one of the necessary preliminaries to the great campaign he proposed to conduct toward Richmond; and Gen. Crook, who was in command in West Virginia, was ordered to take all his available force, and cut the line of the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad near the bridge over the Upper Kanawha, generally called the New River. His entire command, including Col. Hayes's brigade, did not exceed sixty-five hundred men; and it must have appeared to him like a forlorn hope to attempt such a march into the enemy's country. Of course, he did not know that Sigel was moving up the Shenandoah Valley, Sherman forcing his way to Atlanta, Grant moving toward Richmond, and almost numberless expeditions starting out to attract the atten-

tion of the enemy, and prevent a concentration of the rebels at any one place. Hence when, after those dreadful hardships in climbing cragged mountains in snow and ice, wading deep streams, and making forced marches even into the night, he was told that the last range of rugged hills which lay between him and the railroads was covered with the enemy, and formidable with fortifications, he had good reason to doubt the result. But there was no other course to pursue than that marked out for him ; and, consequently, that rocky and wooded eminence must be stormed and taken by some of his troops. Naturally, as if it were a matter of course, the choice fell upon Hayes's brigade, who had seen so many battles, it was considered as invincible as human beings ever get to be in time of war. No estimate could be made of the number of the rebels, as they were hid in the dense woods ; but the continuous volleys of musketry, and the rapid discharge of cannon, gave notice that they were not a small body.

They had chosen a strong position, and fortified three crests, or spurs, of the mountain, each behind and higher than the other ; so that, should they be driven from one, the works in the rear would cover their retreat ; while in front of them was a smooth, open meadow, some six hundred yards wide, which the Federal troops must cross within easy range before they came to the defences upon which the rebels relied, consisting of a deep stream of water, and a rugged ascent made difficult by fallen trees and hidden pits.



Col. Hayes's brigade formed in line on the side of this meadow, and, at the word of command, sprang forward at a double-quick pace; while the enemy opened all its batteries and musketry upon them. Col. Hayes led the brigade, and moved about from point to point during the charge with such coolness and alacrity, that he kept his line steady, and infused into the soldiers the utmost confidence in his ability to lead them to victory. When the meadow was passed, a short halt was made by the stream, to dress the line, and give such necessary orders as the task before them seemed to demand; and then, with a yell, they rushed into the brush, climbing like squirrels, and as fearless of the shot which riddled the trees, as those animals would be of falling acorns. Upward they clambered in such hot haste, and with such an even line, that, before the enemy could ram home the second charge, they were swarming about the rude breastwork, and clubbing their empty muskets to strike down the gunners. Astonished and dismayed, the rebels made a hasty retreat, leaving behind them two handsome guns, into the mouth of one of which a boy in the Twenty-third thrust his cap, to denote that it was his prize, and then rushed on with his comrades to charge and capture the second crest. The movement upon the second position was but a continuation of the first charge; and, no time being allowed the rebels to re-form, they fled like sheep to their last stronghold. Here being re-enforced by a fresh arrival of troops, and knowing that this offered

the last means of defence, they re-formed, and met the Union forces in a most desperate and heroic contest. It was one of the sharpest conflicts of the war. It continued but a few minutes; yet it was so close a fight, that men seized each other, and went rolling down among the rocks. The rebels tried to load their guns when the Union soldiers were but a few paces away, and then bodily threw themselves in the path to delay the charge until the guns could be hauled away. But the death of Gen. Jenkins, commanding the Confederates, and a sudden movement toward their rear, — led by Col. Hayes, who, with great enthusiasm, yelled and fought with his men, — disconcerted the brave defenders; and soon such as could escape fled down the mountain toward the railroad which had been intrusted to their defence.

Dublin Station, on the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad, is but eight miles beyond Cloyd Mountain; and Gen. Crook, fearing that the enemy might attempt to erect fortifications, hurried his command, and reached the railroad that night, which he destroyed for eight miles toward Lynchburg from Dublin Station, and, after a short artillery battle, burned the long bridge over New River, thus completely and specifically obeying his instructions.

Without waiting to be attacked in a place where he could be so easily surrounded, he at once began his march to the northward, notwithstanding the men were footsore, bruised, and wounded. The route he took, by

Meadow Bridge and Salt Pond Mountain, led through one of the most rugged and dangerous regions of the Alleghany Mountains, being a rocky and wild succession of cliffs and chasms, through which meagre roadways had been cut, only to be washed away by the spring freshets, which were then at their height. It rained continually. The mountain torrents raged across their paths; men were drowned at the fords; teams were carried away in the streams; the shoes of the soldiers fell into pieces; their soaked clothing was rent by the least strain, their guns were rusty and unserviceable, and their supply of food exceedingly limited, and of a poor quality. Besides these hardships, they were sometimes met by the enemy, and had to fight as well as climb. Once they were beset by the same troops which they had defeated at Cloyd Mountain; and this exhausted, ragged little army worked their courage up to the charging-point, and captured the remaining guns, which the rebels had so heroically defended on the crests of that battlefield.

At last the tired army reached their old camping-ground at Meadow Bluff, from which place, after a short rest, and obtaining fresh supplies, they marched to Staunton, Va., joining Hunter's army, June 8.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### THE ATTACK ON LYNCHBURG.

The First Day's March. — Approach to Lynchburg. — The Appearance of the Enemy. — The Night Retreat. — The Heroism of Hayes's Brigade. — The Hardships of the March. — Hayes's Defence of Buford's Gap. — Surrounded by the Rebels. — Diary of an Officer.

ON the 10th of June the march began from Staunton to Lynchburg; and Hayes's brigade led the column, marching twenty-three miles that day, and skirmishing nearly all the way. And by forced marches, taking in Lexington and Buchanan, towns on the James River, the army reached the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad, some distance west of Lynchburg, on the 14th, and moved up the railroad toward that town, arriving within sight of the buildings on the 18th of June. Here Gen. Crook's command, with Hayes's brigade, was sent by a long *détour* to reach the rear of the city, and attack simultaneously with the army in front; but the sudden arrival of large rebel re-enforcements caused Gen. Hunter to recall Crook; and he returned just in time to meet the advancing enemy, and assist materially in compelling the foe to retire. Yet the rebels continued a brisk fire all day, and kept the national forces

under arms, and in perpetual expectation of an attack from superior numbers.

On the approach of darkness, however, Gen. Hunter ordered the troops to move to the westward; and the now famous fighting brigade of Col. Hayes was ordered to cover the retreat, which they did successfully, although they had been two days without sleep, and one day without food. The enemy followed close upon them as they retreated down the railroad; and often Hayes's brigade would make a determined stand to give the main body time to get well on its way, and then suddenly stop firing, and hasten on after the receding column. All the next day they fought and marched, and at night (19th) they had a sharp conflict with a large body of the enemy sent to surprise them; so that another night passed without sleep: and, as if to test their powers of endurance to the utmost, they had scarcely reached Buford's Gap, on the morning of the 20th, before the enemy, in great numbers, appeared, with the evident purpose of securing the heights, and from them shelling the retreating Federals. Hayes drew up his brigade in such a manner as to cover the approaches to the gap, and held his position all that day (20th). At night, when he knew the army was far beyond the reach of rebel cannon, he collected his men, and hastily retreated. But, as his column drew near to the town of Salem, a body of the rebels managed to outmarch his almost fainting troops, and, by another route, intercepted him, while another body

vigorously pressed him in the rear. It was a situation from which but few leaders could have extricated such a worn, starving, bleeding company of men. But such was Hayes's influence over them, that at his vigorous appearance, and enthusiastic call for one more fight, they rallied all the strength they had, and, knowing he had shared equally with them all the hardships of the march, proudly declared they would fight as long as he could. So, once more they made a determined charge, and cleared the way to the camp, where, at ten o'clock at night, they found their first sleep for nearly four days. The pursuit was discontinued at North Mountain; but as their provisions were nearly exhausted, and the country desolated by previous campaigns, they were but half supplied with food until they arrived at Big Sewell Mountain, on the 27th of June, having marched one hundred and eighty-three miles in eight days and a half. After a short rest at this point and at Meadow Bluff, the emaciated and worn troops marched to Charleston, Va., arriving on the first day of July.

A contributor for "The New-York Times" sent to that paper an extract from the diary of an officer who accompanied Col. Hayes in that arduous march; and it is of sufficient interest to find a place in this book. One item is as follows:—

"*June 19.*—Marched all day, dragging along very slowly. The men had nothing to eat, the trains having been sent in advance. It is almost incredible that men should have been able to endure so much; but they

never faltered, and not a murmur escaped them. Often men would drop out silently, exhausted; but not a word of complaint was spoken. Shortly after dark, at Liberty, had a brisk little fight with the enemy's advance. Reached Buford's Gap about ten, A.M., of the 20th. Gen. Crook remained here with Hayes's brigade, holding the gap until dark, inviting an attack. The army was, however, too cautious to do more than skirmish. After dark we withdrew, and marched all night to overtake the command in the advance. Reached Salem about nine, A.M. Hunter had passed through Salem; and a body of the enemy's cavalry fell upon his train, and captured the greater part of his artillery. About the same time Crook was attacked in front and rear, and, after a sharp fight, pushed through, losing nothing. Heavy skirmishing all day, and nothing to eat, and no sleep. Continued the march until about ten, P.M., when we reached the foot of North Mountain, and slept.

"At four, A.M., next morning (22d), left in the advance, the first time since the retreat commenced. By a mistake, a march of eight miles was made for nothing. Thus we toiled on, suffering intensely with exhaustion, want of food, clothing, &c. On the 27th, a supply-train was met on the Big Sewell Mountain. Men all crazy. Stopped and ate; marched and ate; camped about dark, *and ate all night*. Marched one hundred and eighty miles in the last nine days, fighting nearly all the time, and with very little to eat."

How like a dream all this appears to us, now that a decade intervenes to obscure the view ! Of such stuff are the defenders of a righteous government made ; and they survive as its safeguard.



## CHAPTER XV.

### SHENANDOAH CAMPAIGN.<sup>1</sup>

**Fight with Early. — Col. Hayes covers Another Retreat. — Sheridan's Choice of the Kanawha Division. — Daring Attacks upon Early's Lines. — Capture of Prisoners. — Battle at Berryville. — Gen. Grant says, "Go in." — Opening of the Battle of Winchester. — Charge of Hayes's Brigade. — Heroic Conduct of Col. Hayes. — Defeat of Early. — Col. Hayes's Charge. — The Enemy's Flank at North Mountain.**

EARLY, who commanded the rebel corps sent from Richmond to the relief of Lynchburg, had by this time moved into the valley, and thence into Maryland. Gen. Crook's command was therefore ordered east, and, setting out on the 10th, arrived by rail at Martinsburg, on the 14th. Here Hayes's brigade remained until the 18th, when it advanced to Coblentown, ten miles beyond Harper's Ferry, and drove in the enemy's pickets. Early, after menacing the defences of Washington, withdrew from Maryland, pursued by Wright's Sixth Corps, which he turned fiercely upon at Snicker's Gap, driving back Wright's advance with considerable loss. The rebel commander then pursued his

<sup>1</sup> We are indebted to an able and trustworthy writer for much of the material in this and the following chapter.

march, and was believed to be making his way up the gap toward Gordonville. Accordingly, on the 22d, Col. Hayes was sent out, with his brigade and two sections of artillery, to reconnoitre, and while entirely unsupported, and without communication with the main body on the other side of the Shenandoah, was completely surrounded by two divisions of the enemy's cavalry, but fought his way out, and rejoined Gen. Crook on the 23d, at Winchester.

On the 24th Crook advanced, easily driving the enemy's cavalry, supposed to be covering the rebel retreat up the valley, when suddenly, near Kernstown, Early's whole army developed itself in battle array, close upon the left flank, and, pouncing upon Crook, compelled him to fall back rapidly on Martinsburg. Col. Hayes covered this retreat on the left with his brigade, and stubbornly resisting Early's impetuous advance, saved Crook's forces from material loss, and enabled him to draw off safely all his trains and artillery. A series of marches and counter-marches was now inaugurated, which, though bringing on no general engagement, were characterized by many daring exploits.

Gen. Sheridan took command of the new middle department on the 7th of August, and selected the Kanawha division, including Col. Hayes's brigade, to act with his cavalry in repeated assaults on Early's lines. Sheridan was not quite ready for a general advance; and it was, in part, the objects of these assaults

to keep the enemy occupied, and prevent him from detaching any portion of his force for the assistance of Lee at Richmond. Several times Early undertook to do this, and as often was prevented by Sheridan's vigorous demonstrations, which sometimes rose to the proportions of a serious battle.

Seldom a week passed without two or three of these attacks being made; Col. Hayes often forcing his way with his brigade, not only through Early's formidable picket-lines, but through his main line, compelling him to develop his full strength, and even to seek new positions. So bold and hazardous were these raids, that it was often a matter of grave surmise with officers and men, in setting out, whether the brigade would ever return again to the main body; and many times the chances seemed to be decidedly in favor of its capture or annihilation. But it always managed to get back in good fighting-trim; and its habitual success greatly increased the confidence of the men in themselves and their leader. At length Early was provoked to retaliate, and at daylight, on the 23d of August, made a vigorous attack on Sheridan's outposts at Halltown. The attack was not followed up, however, and at six, P.M., Hayes's brigade sallied out, and drove in the enemy's skirmish line, capturing a lot of prisoners from Kershaw's division.

This was a bold and brilliant charge; and the bewildered prisoners, as they were captured, exclaimed in astonishment, "Who the h—, are you 'uns?" On the

24th the *sortie* was repeated still more successfully, and resulted in the capture of sixty officers, and one hundred men, all from Kershaw's division. Things passed quietly from this time until the evening of Sept. 3, when Duval's division, including Col. Hayes's brigade, became involved in a severe engagement at Berryville. The fighting was desperate; and, occurring mostly after dark, the flashes of musketry, and exploding of shells, mingling with the fierce roar of conflict, made a scene that was frightfully grand. This affair was a severe test to the valor of the troops; but their lines, though in imminent jeopardy of being overwhelmed, never wavered. The battle ceased by mutual consent, about ten o'clock, and the picket-lines were re-established.

Sheridan had by this time pretty thoroughly organized the mixed forces placed under his command, and, on the 16th of September, was visited by Gen. Grant, who states in his report, that he saw that but two words of instruction were necessary, "Go in." Accordingly Grant gave them, and Sheridan went in. The battle of Opequan, or Winchester as it is usually called, took place on the 19th of September. Early at this time held the west bank of Opequan Creek, occupying a series of strong heights overlooking, like an amphitheatre, an irregular valley, and standing, with regard to each other, like a series of detached fortifications. Sheridan proposed to pass into the valley by means of a narrow ravine, which entered it by a crooked course between

steep and densely wooded hills, then deploy, amuse the enemy's right, vigorously fight his centre, and outflank and overwhelm his left. It was Early's design, on the other hand, to permit the deployment to proceed to a certain extent, then overwhelm Sheridan's left, cut his army in two, and beat it in detail.

The battle opened at ten, A.M., when the Sixth Corps emerged from the ravine, followed by the Nineteenth, and, taking ground to the left, pushed impetuously forward against Early's right. Crook's command, comprising Duval's and Thoburn's divisions, now debouched into the valley, and, passing behind the other two corps, passed rapidly to the right, intending to turn the enemy's left, and charge him in the flank and rear. Ricketts's division of the Sixth Corps, and Grover's of the Nineteenth, leading the attack on the left, charged furiously over the broken ground, driving the enemy from his sheltered position from behind rocks and thick woods, and carrying his first line. Early, in turn, seeing every thing was at stake, hurled two fresh divisions upon Grover and Ricketts, forcing them back in great disorder.

At this moment the battle seemed lost; but the broken regiments were finally rallied, poured into the triumphant enemy a volley which staggered him, then, advancing, recovered much of the lost ground, and held it, pending Crook's expected attack. This attack is thus described by one who participated in the battle with the Nineteenth Corps:—

“ At three o'clock the hour of defeat for Early struck. To our right, where I could not exactly see, from the rolling nature of the ground, we heard a mighty battle-yell, which never ceased for ten minutes, which told us that Crook and his men were advancing. To meet this yell, there arose from the farthest sweep of the isolated wood, where it rounded away toward the rebel rear, the most terrific continuous roll of musketry that I ever heard. It was not a volley, or succession of volleys, but an uninterrupted explosion, without a single break or tremor. As I listened to it, I despaired of the success of the attack; for it did not seem to me possible that any troops could endure such a fire. The captain of our right company, who was so placed that he could see the advance, afterward described it as magnificent in its steadiness, the division which accomplished it moving across the open fields in a single line, without visible supports, the ranks kept well dressed in spite of the stream of dead and wounded which dropped to the rear, the pace being the ordinary quickstep, and the men firing at will, but coolly and rarely.”

Col. Hayes's Brigade belonged to the division making the movement just described, and therefore bore a leading part in this glorious affair. In the course of Crook's advance, it occupied the extreme right of the line, and, crossing a swampy stream, reached a position covered by an almost impenetrable growth of cedar. Through this the command pushed on, with Hayes's brigade in front. The brigade then advanced rapidly, covered by a light

line of skirmishers, driving the enemy's cavalry. Crossing two or three open fields, exposed to a scattering fire, the brigade reached a slight elevation, where it came into full view of the enemy, who opened upon it a heavy fire of musketry and artillery. Col. Hayes now started his command forward on the double-quick, and, dashing through a thick fringe of underbrush, came upon a deep slough about fifty yards wide, and stretching nearly the whole front of his brigade. The bottom was treacherous ooze; and the dark water, now churned with flying bullets, was, on the nearer side, about ten feet deep. Just beyond it was a rebel battery, thinly supported, the slough being itself deemed a sufficient protection. The moment was a critical one. Should the brigade undertake to go around the obstruction, it would be exposed to a terrible enfilading fire, and, losing the enthusiasm of the charge, would certainly be discomfited, and the line of the advance broken in its vital part. Col. Hayes hesitated not an instant. Catching the situation at a glance, he gave the word, "Forward!" to the men, and then the example, as he spurred into the horrible ditch. Horse and rider sank nearly out of sight; but the horse swam until he struck the spongy bottom, then gave a plunge or two, and sank helplessly in the mire. Dismounting, Col. Hayes waded to the farther bank, beckoning with his cap to his soldiers, some of whom succeeded in joining him. Many others, in attempting to follow, were killed or drowned; but soon enough had passed to form a nucleus for the

brigade; and then, at Col. Hayes's command, he leading, they climbed the bank, and made for the guns.

But the enemy, dismayed by so bold a charge, had withdrawn his battery just in time to save it, and now confusedly fled. In a few minutes Col. Hayes re-formed his brigade on the farther side of the slough, and resumed the advance. Then followed a succession of brilliant charges, as the enemy attempted, at various points, to rally his broken lines. In one of these charges Col. Duval was wounded, and carried from the field, devolving the command upon Col. Hayes, who, though his adjutant-general was shot by his side, and men dropped all around him, rode through it all as though he possessed a charmed life.

The division dashed forward in pursuit with all the vigor that victory inspires. The passage of the slough was the crisis of the fight; and the rebels now broke to the rear in utter confusion. Then the cavalry, which had followed the movement of the right, swooped down upon them like a hurricane let loose, and scooped them up by regiments. The writer already quoted, who witnessed this movement from a point farther to the left, thus describes it:—

“At the distance of half a mile from us, too far away to distinguish all the grand movements and results, the last scene of the victorious drama was acted out. Crook's column (Hayes's division leading) carried the



heights, and forts which crowned them. We could see the long, dark lines moving up the stony slopes ; we could see and hear the smoke and clatter of musketry on the deadly summit ; then we could hear our comrades' cheer of victory. Early's battle was soon reduced to a simple struggle to save himself from utter rout."

Early now fell back to Fisher's Hill, eight miles south of Winchester, and there took up a position between the North and Mansanutzen Mountains, which was regarded as the strongest in the valley. Sheridan followed up sharply, and on the 22d impetuously assailed this new stronghold. The tactics of Opequan were repeated ; the Sixth and Nineteenth Corps attacking the enemy's right and centre, and Crook's being sent around to the right to envelope his right and rear. Col. Hayes's division led this latter movement, and, by making a *détour* through a series of ravines, arrived at a point on Early's flank deemed unassailable. Clambering up the steep side of North Mountain, which was covered with an almost impenetrable entanglement of trees and underbrush, the division, unperceived, gained a position close to and in the rear of the enemy's line, and then charged with perfect fury, insomuch that the rebels scarcely made any resistance at all, but fled in utter rout and terror, leaving many guns, and hundreds of prisoners, to the victorious soldiers.

Meanwhile, Early's centre had also been broken ; and

his army precipitately left the field, a disordered mob. Col. Hayes was at the head of his column throughout this brilliant charge, not only directing the movement, but, by his example of personal daring, greatly adding to the enthusiasm and impetuosity of his men.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### SHENANDOAH CAMPAIGN.

**Battle of Cedar Creek. — Early's Night March. — Defeat of Thorburn's Brigade. — Retreat of Hayes's Troops. — Col. Hayes's Soldierly Bearing. — Col. Hayes saves Sheridan's Train. — Supposed Death of Col. Hayes. — Approach of Sheridan. — Early's Defeat. — Hayes's Promotions. — His Military Character.**

NEARLY a month elapsed after the battle at North Mountain, during which Early thoroughly re-organized and largely increased his forces. Sheridan, after raiding the valley with his cavalry, had withdrawn to a point near Cedar Creek, six miles below Fisher's Hill, and had gone on a flying trip to Washington, devolving the command upon his senior corps commander, Gen. Wright. The troops occupied high ground, Crook's corps being, as usual, in advance, Emory's Nineteenth on the right and about a mile in the rear of Crook's front line, and Wright's Sixth on the right of Emory's, the extreme right being covered by a division of cavalry. Crook's forces comprised two divisions (Hayes's and Thorburn's), numbering about four thousand men in all; Hayes's line being continuous of that of the Nineteenth Corps, and Thorburn occupying a position

about a mile in advance of Hayes, covered by a slight parapet. The nearest force of national cavalry on the left was at Fort Royal, eight miles distant. Gen. Crook had applied for a division of this force to cover his exposed left and an adjacent ford of the Shenandoah, and his request had been granted; but, by some mischance, the cavalry did not take its position promptly as ordered.

Early, aware of the absence of the cavalry, resolved to steal out of his forest covert at Fisher's Hill, pass by the Cedar Creek position, then fall upon the Union flank and rear. He began this movement during the night of Oct. 18, which, fortunately for him, happened to be very foggy and dark. Sending one division to the west by way of a diversion, his main column, leaving the turnpike, advanced to the right by unfrequented paths along the side of the mountain, holding on by bushes where the men could scarcely otherwise have kept their feet, and twice fording the north fork of the Shenandoah. The cavalry which Crook fully believed to be in position on his flank would, had it really been there, have covered the principal one of these fords, and rendered this movement impossible. In its absence, Early succeeded in completely passing the flank without giving serious alarm; and an hour before dawn his troops stood in the positions assigned them, waiting for the order to attack. Just as the first gray light of morning began to appear, this order was given; and simultaneously the familiar

rebel yell and a tremendous volley of musketry, stretching all along the flank from far to near, announced the presence of the foe. In an instant Early's plunging lines swept forward, and, striking Thorburn's division, crushed it in a twinkling. All the guns in the line of parapet were, of course, captured; and the broken regiments, utterly unable to resist such an overwhelming onset, were swept hurriedly to the rear.

Hayes's division, meanwhile, flew to arms, and, changing front, advanced in the direction in which the enemy was evidently coming. Its whole strength at this time was about fourteen hundred and forty-five effectives, not enough to make a respectable skirmish line along the front of attack. In a moment the enemy, inspired and impelled by his first success, burst from the thick woods in front, and was greeted with a full volley from Hayes's men.

But successful resistance was impossible; and even the attempt to resist seemed like madness. In a moment more the force which had struck Thorburn was closing in upon Hayes's flank and rear, and there was no alternative but retreat or capture. In the face of imminent peril, the division withdrew with steady lines, and, from this to the close of the terrible ordeal of surprise and retreat, maintained its organization unbroken, not losing so much as a tin plate. Col. Hayes directed its movements with the utmost intrepidity, leading it backward in good order, and from one hill-top to another, and making energetic resistance at every

possible point. His superb coolness and courage in the midst of the frightful rout and confusion acted like magic upon his men; and the example of his division, checking each rebel onset with its firm and steady lines, re-animated the broken regiments, and fired them with its own determined spirit of resistance.

Overpowered, and driven from its advanced position, Crook's command now endeavored to form on the left of the Sixth Corps, which, in turn, was soon obliged to fall back. While this movement was going on, the trains were all rapidly moving off, though imminently exposed to capture. Sheridan's headquarters' train was particularly in peril; and a desperate effort to save it was made, which proved successful. Just as the enemy's triumphant lines were sweeping down upon the train, Col. Hayes brought his division to a halt, and met them with a firm resistance. Some of his regiments wavering under the terrible fire, Col. Hayes galloped forward to rally his men, and, mounting a slight declivity, was confronted at less than a hundred yards by the enemy's infantry, which instantly delivered a volley of bullets and yells. Hayes's horse fell dead beneath him, pierced by many bullets, and, by the suddenness of its fall while at full speed, flung its rider violently out of the saddle. Col. Hayes was terribly bruised, and his foot and ankle badly wrenched in being disengaged from the stirrup.

For a moment the soldiers on both sides supposed him to be killed, as he lay upon the ground, benumbed

with pain, and scarcely able to move. Recovering himself, however, he sprang to his feet, and in the midst of a perfect storm of bullets from the rebels, who were now almost upon him, ran back to his division, which he regained without further injury. Meanwhile the headquarters' train had escaped; and the division, being no longer supported on rear or flank, resumed its backward movement. The fighting now grew more and more stubborn on the Union side. The enemy, wearied with marching and fighting, and tempted with camp plunder, more and more relaxed his pursuit; and at last, in a position of their own selection, the Federal troops were brought to a dead halt. The enemy seemed to content himself with shelling them, and, for the time being, made no further demonstration. Gen. Comly, then commanding the Twenty-third Ohio, of Hayes's division, thus described the scene:—

“Gen. Crook lay a couple of rods away from the line, in a place which seemed to be more particularly exposed than any other part of the line. Col. Hayes lay close by, badly bruised from his fall, and bitterly complaining because his troops did not charge the enemy's line, instead of waiting to be charged. Suddenly there is a dust in the rear, on the Winchester pike; and, almost before they are aware, a young man, in full major-general's uniform, and riding furiously a magnificent black horse literally flecked with foam, reins up, and springs off at Gen. Crook's side. There is a perfect roar as everybody recognizes Sheridan. He

talks with Crook a little while, cutting away at the tops of the weeds with his riding-whip. Gen. Crook speaks half a dozen sentences that sound a great deal like the crack of a whip, and by that time some of the staff are up. They are sent flying in different directions. Sheridan and Crook lie down, and seem to be talking, and all is quiet again, except the vicious shells of the different batteries, and the roar of artillery along the line. After a while, Col. Forsyth comes down in front, and shouts to the general, 'The Nineteenth Corps is close up, sir.' Sheridan jumps up, gives one more cut with his whip, whirls himself around once, jumps on his horse, and starts up the line. Just as he starts, he says to his men, 'We are going to have a good thing on them now, boys;' and so he rode off, a long wave of yells rolling up to the right with him. The men took their posts; the line moved forward; and the balance of the day is a household word over the whole nation."

The advance here described began at three o'clock, P.M., the men moving steadily and confidently forward over the wooded and broken ground, the scream of shells, and rattle of musketry, at the same time swelling into a furious chorus along the whole line. Quickly the enemy's front line was carried by a brilliant charge, and his left decidedly turned; Gordon's division, which led the attack in the morning, having been outflanked and broken.

Then came a pause in the advance, but not in the fight, as the enemy opened with his full artillery force, now largely strengthened by his captures.



The different divisions were adjusted to the new attitude of the enemy, and then followed a second charge, more determined and more overwhelming than the first, breaking the rebel lines at all points, and forcing its flying fragments back upon the turnpike, a frantic, hopeless mob. Into this howling mass, — blocking the narrow roadway with wagons, caissons, and disordered troops, — the artillery now poured a terrific fire, creating a wild panic that speedily spread throughout the entire rebel army. Guns, teams, every thing, was abandoned by the flying enemy; and Sheridan's victorious battalions, gaining momentum each moment, picked up prisoners by the hundred, and cannon by the score. The rebel army was completely pulverized; and only darkness saved it from total capture or annihilation. Practically, there was nothing left for Sheridan to fight; and, excepting two or three cavalry skirmishes, the war in the valley was ended.

Col. Hayes was at once promoted to brigadier-general, "for gallant and meritorious service in the battles of Winchester, Fisher's Hill, and Cedar Creek," to take rank from Oct. 19, 1864; and was brevetted major-general, "for gallant and distinguished services during the campaigns of 1864 in West Virginia, and particularly in the battles of Fisher's Hill and Cedar Creek." Prior to these promotions, he had commanded a brigade, as colonel, for over two years; and he was then commanding a division. In the course of his arduous services, four horses had been shot under him, and he

had been wounded four times. His advancement was never sought, and did not come until long after it had been fully earned.

The battle of Cedar Creek was his last contest in the open field; and, for several months thereafter, his brigade was either in camp, or engaged in some minor raid. In the spring of 1865, he was given command of an expedition against Lynchburg, by way of the mountains of West Virginia, and was engaged in preparations for that campaign, when the war closed.

Of his military character, one who served with him in nearly all his campaign has written as follows: —

“Gen. Hayes was one of the most gallant soldiers that ever drew sword. More than four years’ service in the same command gave the writer ample opportunity to observe that no braver or more dashing and enterprising commander gave his services to the Republic than Gen. Hayes. He was the idol of his command. No soldier ever doubted where he led.”

Another, who was associated with him in the army, speaking of his military traits, says, —

“He proved himself not only a gallant soldier, but model officer. We had opportunities of close observation of him in Virginia, and found him cool, self-possessed, and as thorough in the discharge of his duties as he was gallant in action. There is probably no position that so thoroughly tries the gentleman as that of the officer in time of war. The despotic power suddenly placed in his hands calls for the higher attributes

of manhood to preserve its possession from abuse. To his inferiors in rank, Gen. Hayes was ever kind, patient, and considerate. He was, in the first sense of the term, the soldier's friend. As an officer, he was noted, not only for his strict loyalty to his superiors, but for gallantry in battle, and activity in the discharge of every duty, however perilous or arduous."

## CHAPTER XVII.

### BEGINNING OF POLITICAL LIFE.

Hayes's Attachment to the Whigs. — His Admiration for Daniel Webster. — The First Freesoil Club in Cincinnati. — Hayes in the Antislavery Convention. — Refuses Nominations. — Estimation of him in Cincinnati. — His Resolutions at the Grand Union Meeting. — His Support of Lincoln's Administration.

THE political life of Gen. Hayes began long before he accepted an office; and, although he was never an ultra partisan, yet his opinions and preferences threw him into the Whig party at once upon his entry into active business-life. His associates at the bar in Cincinnati, including Groesbeck, Spofford, Hoadley, Force, Noyes, Smith, Pope, Mathews, and their companions, were active politicians, and naturally drew him more or less into the discussion of political questions, and into the various political movements preceding the elections. On all questions he had an opinion of his own, and acted upon it, independent of all combinations and parties, whenever his convictions led him to differ from them. He was a great admirer of Daniel Webster, and read that statesman's speeches so often, that he could repeat many of them verbatim.

In 1853 the first Freesoil club of Cincinnati was

formed ; and many of the antislavery Whigs joined the organization, including Mr. Hayes, who became one of the strong and permanent members. It was characteristic of him to say but few words, and only on extraordinary occasions to venture a public remark ; yet a cause which had his support always found him punctual at its meetings, generous with his money, and a careful, cautious superintendent of all the minor details. To the new Freesoil party he gave his whole heart, and worked, when his companions slept, to get before the people the great questions which the encroachments of slavery made vital. Yet he was neither abusive nor bigoted. No one thought of calling Hayes a fanatic. In all his actions and all his words, there was a spirit of consecration to a righteous cause, and an unmistakable amount of broad common-sense.

When Halstead, Eggleston, and other leaders of the American party, called upon the Freesoil clubs to act with them in joint county convention to elect delegates for the nomination of Salmon P. Chase for governor of Ohio, Hayes went into the convention with others, declaring that while he did not approve of the "Know-nothing" movement, yet the cause of human freedom demanded that all should combine for the overthrow of slavery. Every one knew that the things which Hayes said or did had under them no motive for self-aggrandizement. Repeatedly urged to accept a nomination for some of the various offices within his reach, he as firmly declined to be a candidate ; and the only office

he did accept was one directly in the line of his profession. The temper and desires of the man are seen in his reluctant acceptance of the office of city solicitor after refusing a seat upon the judicial bench.

In the campaign of 1860, he was especially active, regarding the success of the Republican party as absolutely necessary to the preservation of the Union; and, when the exciting events which immediately followed the election were agitating the country, Hayes was identified with every movement which favored the overthrow of the slave power. He had defended too many fugitive slaves, and heard too much of the barbarous institution, to remain neutral when any act of his could contribute toward its overthrow. His influence in the community, though so silent, was potent and agreeable. "The Cincinnati Gazette," speaking of him in its issue of March 21, 1861, said, "He is a sound lawyer, a man of marked ability, undisputed integrity, and exemplary business-habits. He has made one of the best city solicitors we have ever had, and has earned, as he has received, the approbation of good citizens of all parties."

Something can be gathered concerning his opinions and sympathies, from the resolutions which he presented to a grand Union demonstration in Cincinnati, April 16, 1861. They were as follows; viz.,—

*Resolved*, That the people of Cincinnati, assembled without distinction of party, are unanimously of the

opinion that the authority of the United States, as against the rebellious citizens of the seceding and disloyal States, ought to be asserted and maintained; and that whatever men or means may be necessary to accomplish that object, the patriotic people of the loyal States will promptly and cheerfully produce.

*Resolved*, That the citizens of Cincinnati will, to the utmost of their ability, sustain the General Government in maintaining its authority, in enforcing its laws, and in upholding the flag of the Union.

These resolutions were adopted without a dissenting voice, and most gloriously did that city keep the pledge they then gave. President Lincoln read the resolutions with many expressions of joy, and preserved them among his private papers.

From that time until the day of his enlistment in the army, Hayes was unceasingly at work in securing volunteers, and in providing for those who went out for three months. Toward all the expenses of meetings, processions, flag-raising, and other demonstrations to secure and confirm the support of all classes for the national cause, Hayes was a most generous contributor, although holding himself as much as was consistent with duty in the background. Yet his devotion was known and appreciated sufficiently to give the people an interest in his welfare when he left them to go to the front; and they kept a close watch upon all his movements.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### NOMINATION FOR CONGRESS.

Gen. Hayes partially consents to be a Candidate. — The Forces to be overcome. — The Campaign of 1864. — The Popular Esteem for Gen. Hayes. — His Famous Letter. — His Characteristic Reply to Judge Johnson. — Resolutions of the Ohio Soldiers. — First Mention of him for Governor.

WHEN the Republicans of the Second Congressional District of Ohio were looking for a candidate for the election of 1864, they instinctively turned, as they had done before, to Gen. Hayes, and asked him to consent to become a candidate. The case is said to have been presented to him in the light of a duty, as it was believed that he was the only man who could carry the district; and a solid Ohio delegation was deemed important for the interests of the national cause. He did not seek the place, nor favor the project of his friends, but in conversation, when the matter was mentioned, indicated, that, should the war be closed before the Congress met to which he was to be chosen, he might take the seat. So his friends presumed, upon his conditional consent, to place his name on the ticket; and the enthusiasm which followed among the people



confirmed the wisdom of their choice. With a Democratic majority to overcome, with a popular opponent in the person of Joseph C. Butler, with the discontent created by the draft, and the appalling death-records of the army, to quell, it was no small undertaking on the part of the Republicans, and one which demanded, as it received, the most careful management, and the very best man for a candidate that could be found.

Gen. Hayes himself took no part in the canvass, and could not be persuaded to do so. One of the active politicians of the district wrote to him, urging him in strong terms to come home, and personally canvass the district in his own behalf. To this he sent a characteristic reply, as follows:—

“Yours of — is received. Thanks: I have other business just now. Any man who would leave the army at this time to electioneer for Congress ought to be scalped. Truly yours, R. B. HAYES.”

But his refusal to appear before the people in his own behalf did not seem to affect the determination of the Republicans, and with processions, mass-meetings, and fireworks, they aroused the people, and drew attention to their cause and their candidate. The transparencies of the torchlight processions and parades expressed the sentiments of the hour, as they usually do, with great significance and precision. Here are some of them as they appeared on banners and decorations during that

exciting canvass: "Hayes is stumping the Shenandoah Valley;" "Our Candidate is a Hero;" "Hayes is no Coward;" "The Defender of Ohio;" "Antietam;" "Hayes loves his Country, and Fights for it;" "Tell Gov. Tod I'll be on Hand;" "No Humbug nor Buncombe about our Candidate;" "Hayes and the Union."

As the day of election drew near, it was apparent that his personal popularity was destroying all opposition. He was invulnerable, and it was useless for the Democrats to say aught against him or his life; while any personal attack was sure to be followed by a loss of Democratic votes among that large class of people who knew Hayes, and respected his uprightness of character, and who would not listen to any insinuation against him without angry retaliation. Had there been any weak spot in his record or private life, had he not been a kind, upright, patriotic, able, moral, and temperate man, the world would have been apprised of it in that contest. But not a single word of accusation or slander found lodgement in the breasts of that people. His ablest and his bitterest opponents had nothing but praises for the man, while they assailed the party which nominated him with untold fury.

After his election, he was often importuned to resign his commission in the army; but he declared that he could not, as a citizen of this nation, abandon the army while in the heat of such a struggle for life.

Judge William Johnson, who was in Washington

during the winter of 1864-65, having larger accommodations for himself and family than he needed, wrote to Gen. Hayes, asking him when he intended to come to Washington, and offering him a suite of spare rooms. To which Gen. Hayes replied in substance as follows,—

“ I shall never come to Washington until I can come by the way of Richmond.”

His regard for the soldiers of his command, and his disinclination to leave them, were well reciprocated by them. It was by them that he was first mentioned for governor of Ohio, as early as the 20th of April, 1865. At that time the Ohio men in the Shenandoah Valley had been ordered to Winchester to prepare for the expected campaign; and, while there, they held a mass-meeting without his knowledge, and unanimously passed the following resolution:—

“ *Resolved*, That Gen. Hayes, in addition to possessing the ability and statesmanship necessary to qualify him in an eminent degree for chief magistrate of the great State of Ohio, is a soldier unsurpassed for patriotism and bravery; he having served four years in the army, earning his promotion from major in one of the Ohio regiments to his present position.”

Gen. Hayes expressed his decided disapproval of the movement at the time, and treated the matter as if such a thought was absurd, and his election impossible; while he would not be tempted to accept the office, had

it been tendered to him by those having the power to secure it for him. He had no ambition but to do his duty; and it was no part of his duty at that time to be governor of Ohio.

## CHAPTER XIX.

### IN CONGRESS.

**The Honor connected with his Election. — Opinions of his Ability. — His Silence in the House of Representatives. — Placed on Unimportant Committees. — His Growing Influence. — Description of him as he then appeared. — His Reception on his Return Home.**

THE election of Gen. Hayes to Congress by a majority of three thousand and ninety-eight was no small honor in 1864, when the people felt the great importance of electing their best men; nor is it any mean compliment to represent such a State as Ohio at any time. To have one's name in the archives of such a commonwealth, associated with such distinguished men as McClellan, Grant, Sherman, Rosecrans, Mitchell, Sheridan, McPherson, Gilmore, Weitzel, Gordon, Granger, McCook, Garfield, Schenck, Crook, Hazen, Stanley, Sill, Steadman, Kirby Smith, Lytle, Tod, Stanton, Chase, Cox, Thurman, Wade, Pendleton, Groesbeck, Garfield, Waitt, and hundreds more whom Ohio has raised to distinction, is worthy of the highest ambition, and a reward worth a life of devoted service.

In one of the daily papers issued about the time of Gen. Hayes's election, appeared a paragraph which was

in accord with the entire public press ; and we give it in passing to show the estimation in which he was held at that day.

“The electioneering that Col. Hayes has done during this political campaign has been at the head of his brigade in the Shenandoah Valley. He performed a gallant and conspicuous part in the splendid victories on the Opequan, and at Fisher’s Hill. In the brilliant charges that have distinguished Crook’s glorious division, Col. Hayes has been one of the leaders. He has been more than three years in the army, and at South Mountain was severely wounded. Months have to pass before he will be called to take his seat in Congress, and before that time we may hope to see the war end in an honorable peace. He is not only brave and judicious on the battle-field, but a capable and earnest civilian. He is one of the right sort of men to be sent to Congress.”

In Congress, during the session of 1865–66, Gen. Hayes displayed the same characteristics which had marked his whole previous course. He was ready for any kind of work, but very much disinclined to push himself into those positions which merely serve to attract public attention. The committees which he served upon were unimportant, because he was so little known to the speaker and to the leading spirits of the House of Representatives. Yet those things which

were intrusted to him were cared for with a conscientious vigilance, and gradually his merits began to be recognized by the members; and members of committees with which he was in no wise connected began to consult his opinions, and act upon his advice. He earnestly supported the Republican measures for reconstruction; he was very active in all those measures in which his State was interested; he attended to every call made upon him from his constituents; and he was one of the busiest, most business-like members to be found in Congress. Yet he made no speeches, and rarely ventured a remark. His vote was seldom, perhaps never, wanting, while he held a seat in the House of Representatives.

Gen. Hayes was appointed chairman of the House Committee on the Library, having as his colleagues Judge Kelly of Pennsylvania, and Calvin T. Hulburt of New York. This is a joint committee; and the members on the part of the senate were Messrs. Howe of Wisconsin, Fessenden of Maine, and Howard of Michigan. During Gen. Hayes's term of service, the large extensions to the library were finished; and he gave the work his personal supervision, securing desirable improvements on the original plan. He also had carried through the House an appropriation of one hundred thousand dollars for the purchase of the curious collection of books on America made by Col. Peter Force, the value of which to future historians will be inestimable. Some attempts to palm off worthless

works of art on this Library Committee, on the part of the House, was defeated by Gen. Hayes, who sought and received the advice of Charles Sumner before he acted on these art matters.

Gen. Hayes was also a member of the Committee on Private Land Claims, with George S. Boutwell, Speaker Kerr, F. E. Woodbridge of Vermont, and others.

Gen. Hayes took an active part in securing the passage of George S. Boutwell's bill, prohibiting persons who had been guilty of treason, bribery, murder, or rebellion, from practising in any United States Court.

It is interesting to look back to that time, and notice how he was regarded by his acquaintances; and it serves, also, as a lesson for such as would deserve honor and renown. One writer who wielded considerable influence at that time, and who drew his conclusions more from Gen. Hayes's official life than from a personal acquaintance, used this remarkable language concerning him:—

“Mr. Hayes is a good-sized, well-formed man. He is in every way well made; has a handsome head on a rather handsome body, and a face which would introduce him favorably anywhere. His complexion is light, skin florid, temperament composed of the vital, motive, and mental in almost equal proportions. He is neither too fast nor too slow, excitable nor sluggish, but he is at once energetic, original, comprehensive, dignified, and resolute. He is more profound than showy, and has



more application than versatility. He will finish what he begins, and make thorough work. He has a hopeful, happy nature; is eminently social, fond of home and all that belongs thereto, and as hospitable to all as he is thoughtful and considerate. But to be more specific: this gentleman is comparatively young in years, and younger in spirit. Though he has already accomplished much, he has by no means reached the climax of his fame. He is a rising young man, and, if spared, will in the course of a few years be found in the front ranks of the best minds in the nation. We base our predictions on the following points: first, he has a capital constitution, both inherited and acquired, with temperate habits; secondly, a large, well-formed brain, with a cultivated mind, with strong integrity, honor, generosity, hopefulness, sociability, and ambition, and all well guided by practical good sense. At present he may be thought to lack fire and enthusiasm; but age and experience will give him point and emphasis. Mark us, this gentleman will not disappoint the expectations of the most hopeful."

It is a very unusual occurrence for a congressman to sit silent through the session, and go back to his constituents to find himself one of the most popular officeholders of his State. Yet such was the case with Gen. Hayes. His return to Cincinnati was the occasion for many demonstrations of approval and confidence, which testified no less to the good sense of a people who were

willing thus to be represented than it did to the sterling worth of the congressman. He had made no brilliant display, aroused no enemies, excited no partisan jealousies; and yet he was appreciated and honored by those who elected him, strange as that fact will appear to many a disappointed aspirant for public honors.

It was while sitting as a member of Congress, that he secured the friendship of many men of national reputation, and who have since been important and faithful allies. In this, no less than in other characteristics,



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his life is at variance with the usual experience among public men. A man like Gen. B. F. Butler of Massachusetts secures many fast friends by being the vigorous opponent of men they dislike. The more numerous and combative his enemies seem to be, the larger is the number, and the more determined the spirit, of his followers. Another member of Congress who sat near him during two entire sessions, and who prided himself on making no enemies, had no influence

in Congress, no real friends in Washington, and was ridiculed out of the next election at home. As a general rule, the man in politics who makes no enemies fails to secure any friends; while any man having enemies is sure of having some sympathizers and supporters. But it is safe to say that Gen. Hayes made no enemies in Congress; and it appears equally true that some of the most valuable friends of his life were found there. To enjoy the friendship and confidence of Charles Sumner was no small honor; nor was it any small matter to be numbered with that social circle of statesmen, which included Senator Fessenden of Maine, Senator Wilson of Massachusetts, and Gov. Morton of Indiana. Hon. George S. Boutwell, afterwards secretary of the treasury, was a firm friend of Gen. Hayes; while the secretary is often mentioned in Gen. Hayes's speeches in terms of friendship and commendation. It is a little surprising to us, that in our search, and in the search of others for us, there has not been found an instance, in his life where he made an enemy, or where he ever lost a friend.

## CHAPTER XX.

### SPEECH ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS.

Gen. Hayes's First Political Canvass. — The Issues of 1866. — His Diffidence in Public. — Speech on the Constitutional Amendments. — The Rebel Plan of Reconstruction. — The Union Plan. — Johnson's Plan. — The Safe Method.

IN the political campaign of 1866, Gen. Hayes was renominated for Congress, and, for the first time in his life, entered into a canvass, and discussed publicly the questions to be affected by the results of the following election. Here, in his own declarations, as they came from his lips, is furnished an opportunity for the study of the man, uninfluenced by the bias or prejudice of the commentator. In his speeches, barring occasional errors in reporting them, is seen the man as he is; and we shall insert two of them in full, and give extracts from others, in order that each reader may study them for himself, and from them form his own estimate of the man and his work. No changes will be found in them to hide any error of judgment; nor will the reader find any paragraphs extracted or inserted, either by Gen. Hayes or any confidential associate, for the purpose of showing him to have been a prophet or an infallible statesman.

The reader will, however, find, that, as the man became more and more accustomed to the rostrum, his language improved, and his methods of discussion became more distinct: in fact, his development in the use of words to convey his meaning, and to awaken the interest or enthusiasm of the people, is seen in a strong light when we compare his earliest speeches with those of latter years. The same rugged common-sense, and the same honesty of purpose, permeate them all; but he was not an orator until years of practice gave him the assurance to face an audience, and forget that they were criticising him. He was a novice at public oratory in 1866, and a polished platform speaker in 1875.

One of his first political speeches was upon the importance of the proposed constitutional amendments, and was delivered Sept. 7, 1866, at the town-hall, in the seventeenth ward of Cincinnati, and was reported as follows. It will be observed how studiously he keeps himself out of all his speeches.

“Without preface, I proceed at once to the discussion of the great question to be determined in the momentous political struggle which now engages the attention of the American people.

“How ought the nation to deal with the people of the States lately in rebellion? No scheme of reconstruction will be found in its practical working to be humane and just and wise, unless it is planned with

particular reference to the different elements of which the population of those States is composed. That population consists of disloyal white people, loyal white people, and loyal colored people. In the South, there is a class, or caste, which by its wealth, intelligence, and social consideration, forms the opinions, and controls the political action, of the masses of the people, to an extent greater than is seen in any other part of the United States. We therefore naturally divide disloyal white people into the leaders and their followers, the masses of the people. The masses consist of ignorant and unthinking, but well-meaning people, and also of a class which is very large in all the slave States: I mean the ruffian class, the men who, in slaveholding communities, have been brutalized by the occupations which slavery made necessary, — the slave-traders, the keepers of slave-pens, the slave-drivers, and slave-catchers, the men who have been educated in violence and cruelty to human beings of both sexes and of all ages. From the hostility of this class, which has lost its occupation by the freedom of the slave, the loyal people of the South need special and powerful protection.

“There are now only two plans of reconstruction before the country, — the plan of those who supported the war-measures of Mr. Lincoln’s administration, which may be called the Union plan; and the plan which originated with those who opposed the war-measures of Mr. Lincoln, and which may be called the

Rebel plan. There was another plan before the country, which in some of its features was like the Union plan, in others it resembled the Rebel plan, and it had some provisions peculiar to itself.

“ This plan, which may properly be called the Administration plan, never had many supporters outside of the influence of executive patronage, and has now been, as I shall hereafter show, for all practical purposes, abandoned.

“ Before discussing the details of either of the proposed plans, I ask your attention to a brief inquiry as to the leading ideas which must be embodied in any just plan. Among Union men, prior to the cessation of actual hostilities there was no substantial difference of opinion as to the general principles on which the treatment of the people of the rebellious States ought to be based. They were announced at a very early period of the Rebellion.

“ Soon after the conspiracy to take the Southern States out of the Union had been fully developed; after our flag, floating over an unarmed vessel carrying provisions to the garrison at Fort Sumter had been fired on at Charleston; and after the dock-yards, arsenals, and forts of the United States, had been seized, but before a single blow had been struck in defence of the rights of the nation,—a Southern senator, Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, made a speech in the Senate of the United States, in which he said, ‘ Show me who has been engaged in these conspiracies, who has fired on our

flag, who has given instructions to take our forts, custom-houses, arsenals, and dock-yards, and I will show you a traitor. Were I president, I would do as Thomas Jefferson did in 1806 with Aaron Burr: I would have them arrested, and, if convicted within the meaning and scope of the Constitution, by the eternal God I would execute them.'

"I quote the former opinions of Pres. Johnson, not for any purpose so unimportant as to show an inconsistency between his present course and his former declarations, but because what he said during the war derives significance from the fact that a vice-president, able, faithful, and every way worthy, was set aside to give place to Mr. Johnson, because he, in a way so conspicuous and pronounced, had given utterance to the settled convictions of the Union men of the country.

"This was his definition of treason: 'Treason is a crime, not a mere political difference, not a mere contest between two parties, in which one succeeded, and the other simply failed. Surely the Constitution sufficiently defines treason. It consists in levying war against the United States, and in giving their enemies aid and comfort. With this definition it requires no great acumen to ascertain who are traitors. When the Government of the United States does ascertain who are the intelligent and conscientious traitors, the penalty should be paid.' In another speech he said, 'Is he — the traitor — to participate in the work of re-organi-



zation? Shall he who brought this misery upon the State be permitted to control its destiny? . . . I say that traitors should take a back-seat in the work of restoration. . . . I say that the traitor has ceased to be a citizen, and, in joining the Rebellion, has become a public enemy. . . . He forfeited his right to vote with loyal men . . . when he sought to destroy our government.

“‘These rebel leaders have a strong personal reason for holding out, — to save their necks from the halter; and these leaders must feel the power of the government. Treason must be made odious, and traitors must be punished and impoverished.’

“After the war ended, and within a week after the oath of office as president had been administered to him by Chief Justice Chase, Pres. Johnson was called on by a delegation of Indianians. The address to the President was made by a gentleman, who as the governor of his State during the whole war, under circumstances of difficulty and danger not equalled in any other loyal State, discharged his high trust with such a patriotic devotion to duty, with ability so great, and a success so signal, that, in a single term of office, he acquired a national reputation as one of our ablest living statesmen.

“In his reply to Gov. Morton, Pres. Johnson said, ‘In reference to what my administration will be while I occupy my present position, I must refer you to the past. And, in reference to this diabolical and fiendish

Rebellion, all I have to do is to ask you to go back, and take my course in the past, and from that determine what my future will be. Mine has been but one straightforward and unswerving course; and I see no reason now why I should depart from it. . . . I have heretofore seen that traitors must be made odious, that treason must be made odious, that traitors must be punished and impoverished. . . . They must not only be punished, but their social power must be destroyed: if not, they will still maintain an ascendancy, and may again become numerous and powerful; for, when traitors become numerous enough, traitors become respectable.

“‘While I say that the penalties of the law, in a stern and inflexible manner, should be executed upon conscious, intelligent, and influential traitors — the leaders who have deceived thousands, . . . while I say as to the leaders’ *punishment*, I also say leniency, conciliation, and amnesty, as to the thousands whom they have misled and deceived.’

“These extracts from speeches of Pres. Johnson, made before he was a candidate, while he was a candidate, and after he was elected, may be taken as containing the sentiments of the Union party. They show, that, at the end of the war, the Union men of the country believed that sound policy in dealing with the people of the rebellious States required, as to leading rebels, *punishment, exclusion from political office*, and, in particular, *a denial of all participation in the work of restoring civil government*; as to the well-meaning

rebel people, *conciliation, forgiveness, and pardon*; as to the loyal white people, *honors, political power, and especially the exclusive right to participate in restoring civil government*; as to loyal colored people, *freedom, and protection in the full enjoyment of the inalienable rights of man*. There were, probably, some good Republican men who wanted more than this; I fear that there are a few who would have been satisfied with less than this; but that I am not mistaken in my judgment as to the convictions of the great body of the Union people of all classes, North and South, in the army and at home, I ask no higher evidence than the action of our martyred President.

“ We know that his goodness of heart seemed, sometimes, in the language of my friend Judge Johnston, ‘to swallow up almost every other virtue.’ But kind and forgiving as he was, in the work of reconstruction which he undertook, we do not find him far behind the popular will. I shall not delay to give the details of his work. I shall give only results. Mr. Lincoln re-organized, as far as circumstances allowed, five States. West Virginia, formed out of part of the rebel State of Virginia, was organized upon such principles, and by such measures, that, by the votes of loyal men alone, a State government, loyal in all its branches, was established. Leading rebels were driven from the State, their property confiscated, and the proceeds placed in the treasury of the nation. Slavery was abolished; and, from that day to this, West Virginia

has had loyal governors, loyal legislators, loyal senators, and an unbroken delegation of loyal representatives. She now remains as loyal as Vermont, and, true to her motto, *Montana liberi*, her mountains are the homes of freemen. This was Mr. Lincoln's first State: the remaining part of Virginia, which was within our lines, was also organized by Mr. Lincoln. With too small a population taking part in civil government to be entitled to representation, a State government was, nevertheless, organized, loyal in all its branches; and loyal senators and representatives to Congress were elected. This is Mr. Lincoln's second State. The most powerful State that went into rebellion was, probably, Tennessee. Mr. Lincoln, by the aid of the loyal people only, re-organized the State on such principles, that slavery was abolished, rebels disfranchised, a loyal governor and a loyal legislature elected, and an unbroken delegation of loyal senators and representatives sent to Congress. Better still, she has shown her determination to continue loyal, by adopting the Union amendment to the Constitution; and is, therefore, the first of the States that went into the Rebellion to be restored to her proper practical relations with the Union, represented in both houses of Congress. This was Mr. Lincoln's third State. Arkansas was re-organized by loyal men. A loyal governor and a loyal legislature were elected; and although by a constituency, perhaps, not sufficient in number, she elected, also, an unbroken loyal delegation to Congress. This is a fourth State organized by Mr.

Lincoln. Louisiana was, in like manner, organized by Mr. Lincoln on a loyal basis. Slavery was abolished, a free State organized, loyal in all branches of its government, and which remained loyal until after the close of Mr. Lincoln's administration. This is a fifth State organized by Mr. Lincoln. In the re-organization of rebel States during Mr. Lincoln's administration, these facts appear: the new governments were placed in the hands of loyal men; rebels were excluded from participation in the work of restoration; leading rebels were banished; slavery was abolished voluntarily; and the natural rights of the freedmen secured by appropriate legislation.

“After the assassination of Mr. Lincoln, the task of continuing the work of restoring civil government in the rebellious States devolved upon Pres. Johnson. He undertook the work of re-organizing in seven States. Without now stopping to inquire as to the principles on which he acted, or as to the particular measures which he adopted, let us examine the result of his labors. The first was North Carolina, an old Whig State. Its population and politicians — extremely conservative, opposed strongly to nullification in the days of Calhoun — were carried away by what Gen. Grant calls ‘the foolish notion of State rights.’ A decided majority of the people hostile to rebellion at the beginning, and having a considerable number of intelligent and able men, remained steadfast in their fidelity to the Union throughout the whole war. With all

these advantages for the re-establishment of a State government on a loyal basis, the result is, that North Carolina has a rebel governor, a rebel legislature, a rebel judiciary, and has chosen an unbroken delegation of rebel senators and rebel representatives to the Congress of the United States. I need not name the other six States. It is enough to say, that, with two or three unimportant exceptions, the history, in all its details, of North Carolina in this matter, may be read as the history of each of the other States which Pres. Johnson undertook to re-organize. All of them have chosen for governors men who were leading rebels; and rebels fill their legislative and judicial offices. Twelve of the fourteen United-States senators chosen by these States were leading rebels; and the men chosen to represent them in the house of representatives stand, —rebels, twenty-two; men of supposed loyalty, two; and four yet to be chosen from Texas, all of whom are likely to be rebels. The restoration of two States begun by Mr. Lincoln was continued by Pres. Johnson,—Louisiana and Virginia. Under Mr. Lincoln, they had loyal legislatures, and loyal men elected to Congress. Under the plan of Pres. Johnson, both States now have rebel legislatures and rebel congressional delegations. At the late election in Arkansas, the loyal men elected under Mr. Lincoln have been defeated under Mr. Johnson's policy; and the rebels now hold that State. From this, it appears that the result of what is usually called the President's policy

in dealing with the people of the rebellious States, is, that in all of those States, except West Virginia and Tennessee, which repudiated his policy, loyal men have been compelled to take back-seats, while the places of honor and of political power have been filled by the rebels.

“Having seen the result, let us now look at the plan by which it was accomplished. In the first place, how were the rebels, leaders and followers, to be treated? By the amnesty proclamation, the rebel people generally were to be pardoned on taking an oath to support the Constitution, and the laws and proclamations of the government in regard to slavery; and the excepted classes, which may be taken to mean the leading rebels, were to take the same oath, and thereupon were to receive pardons also, if the President, on special application, chose to grant them. In practice, the President has granted these pardons, so far as the public is informed, in all cases where the applicant was suspected of no other crime, except merely the crime of treason. This part of the plan, therefore, was practically considered a full pardon to all rebels, leaders and followers, who would take an oath to support the present Constitution of the United States, and the proclamations abolishing slavery. The next feature of the plan was, that all pardoned rebels should participate in restoring civil government on the same terms with loyal citizens. This part of the administration plan differed from both the Union plan and the Rebel plan. By the Union

plan, leading rebels, whether pardoned or not, can hold no office, state, or national. This is a substantial difference. By the Rebel plan, all rebels can participate in the government on the same terms with loyal men, without any pardon at all. This is merely a formal difference. The next and most important feature of the plan we are considering is the terms on which the rebellious States were to be fully restored to representation and to all their other practical relations with the General Government.

“The President required that four principal conditions should be complied with: first, the amendment to the National Constitution, abolishing slavery, should be ratified; second, the ordinance of secession should be declared unlawful and void; third, the rebel debt should be repudiated; fourth, the laws of the nation should be obeyed, especially the Act approved July 2, 1862, which excludes from Congress any man who took part in the Rebellion. These provisions of the Administration plan differed widely and radically from the Rebel plan. The friends of the Rebel plan denounce all conditions as despotism and usurpation, and are particularly hostile to amendments to the Constitution, and to the oath of loyalty. On the other hand, the Union plan agrees perfectly in principle with this part of the Administration plan. The supporters of the Union plan find here the precedent for requiring constitutional amendments as conditions, and for their fixed determination sacredly to maintain the loyal oath. To the



first three of these conditions, the Rebel leaders in the South did not seriously object. Slavery had been, in fact, destroyed; and most of them were easily induced to ratify the constitutional amendment recognizing the fact. South Carolina, as might have been expected, was, however, in the language of Mr. Seward, 'querulous and unreasonable,' and, with two or three other States, annexed to her ratification her own interpretation of the meaning of the amendment. As to the second condition, the scheme of secession having failed, the ordinances passed to accomplish it were, without much opposition, in some form got rid of, although it is to be observed some of the States did not do it in the form dictated by the President. As to repudiating the rebel debt, that was in harmony with what many of these people have done with obligations of a more sacred character. But South Carolina, with her accustomed 'waywardness,'—although the President, in his letter to Gov. Perry, begged, as it were, upon his knees, that she should not throw away and defeat so much that had been well done,—has thus far failed to comply with this condition, giving, as her reason for not doing it, that her rebel debt is 'so very small.' Thus we see that the rebels generally complied with those conditions precedent of the administration plan which merely recognized existing facts.

"We now come to the fourth condition, that which required the election, as members of Congress, of men who were qualified according to law. In order to

understand the value and importance of this condition, let us see precisely what the law is. More than four years ago, a law was passed, with the approval of Pres. Lincoln, 'excluding from Congress, and from every Federal office, all persons who voluntarily gave aid to the Rebellion;' and, before a man can take his seat as a member of Congress, he must take the following oath:—

“‘I, —, do solemnly swear, or affirm, that I have never voluntarily borne arms against the United States since I have been a citizen thereof; and I have voluntarily given no aid, countenance, counsel, or encouragement, to persons engaged in armed hostility thereto; that I have neither sought nor accepted, nor attempted to exercise, the functions of any office whatever, under any authority, or pretended authority, in hostility to the United States; that I have not yielded a voluntary support to any pretended government, authority, power, or constitution, within the United States, hostile or inimical thereto. And I do further swear, that, to the best of my knowledge and ability, I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office on which I am about to enter, so help me God!’

“Obedience to this law was a condition of restoration,

having a higher sanction than any other the rebels were required to comply with, except obedience to the Constitution itself. It was approved, as we have seen, by Pres. Lincoln. It was approved by Pres. Johnson in I know not how many speeches, addresses, letters, and messages, both before and after he became president. It was approved by two different Congresses during the Rebellion, and by every member of the Congress assembled since the Rebellion, who even professed to belong to the Union party. It was distinctly approved by the loyal people of the country at two successive congressional elections, and at one presidential election. Moreover, the attention of the people of the rebellious States was specially and repeatedly called to the law; and they were urged to give heed to it. Pres. Johnson sent a despatch (Aug. 22, 1865) to all of his provisional governors, in which he said, ‘I feel it due to you to *impress upon you the importance of encouraging and strengthening to the fullest extent the men of your State who have never faltered in their allegiance to the government.*’

“As late as last February, Pres. Johnson, addressing a delegation of rebel Virginians, said, ‘After having passed through the great struggle in which we have been engaged, we should be placed upon much more acceptable ground in resuming all our relations to the General Government, if we presented unmistakably and unquestionably loyal men to fill the places of power.’

“ We all remember that these rebel leaders at the end of the war were profuse of professions of returning loyalty ; that they were prepared ‘ to accept the situation in perfect good faith,’ and to yield sincere and hearty obedience to the Constitution and the laws. And now, how did they behave in regard to this plain requirement of the law ? All the advice, expostulations, and entreaties of the President and his secretary of state, were in vain. In reply to it all, these people proclaimed by their election of representatives, and by their choice of senators, that rather than obey the law, rather than elect Union men who could take the lawful oath, rather than be represented by men unmistakably and unquestionably loyal, they would go unrepresented altogether. In one or two of the ten States which are now unrepresented, it is probable that they did not cast votes enough at the election to entitle anybody to take a seat in Congress. In the other States, as we have already seen, with a few exceptions, they elected for their representatives and senators leading rebels, the leader and chief-spokesman of whom is a pardoned prisoner, and an unpardoned traitor, who held a higher civil office in the late Confederate States Government than any other man except Jefferson Davis.

“ We often hear from unthinking or uncandid people, that Congress prevents ten States from having their due representation in Congress. Even Gen. Dix said something of this sort at Philadelphia. Senator Hendricks of Indiana, strongly partisan as he is, is com-

pelled to admit, in the elaborate speech he lately delivered at the capital of his State (and I quote his words), that 'rebels are not excluded by the action of the present Congress: they stand excluded by the law.' If every man duly elected from the rebel States claiming to have been loyal was admitted to a seat in Congress, more than nine-tenths of those States and of their people would still be wholly unrepresented. There is much talk of taxation without representation. The truth is, that those people deprived themselves of representation by going into the Rebellion; and now, actuated by the same spirit as they were then, they continue to deprive themselves of that right by refusing to obey the law.

"Certain conditions were required of these people. They comply with some of them. As to this essential condition, obedience to the law of the country, they refuse compliance; they become exacting; they become arrogant; they say by their conduct, to the government and to the loyal people of the country, 'We are the conquerors; we make conditions; it is for us to dictate terms. If you wish the proper relations between us and the United States to be fully restored, you must change your law. We will not consent to be represented in your Congress, except by men whom you call traitors. If you want your Union restored, we demand that you repeal the law which prescribes the loyal oath. You must allow rebels to take part in the work of restoration.'

“South Carolina, making this arrogant demand, goes to Philadelphia, and, strangely enough, finds Massachusetts men ready to do her bidding. To celebrate their victory, the delegates of South Carolina lock arms with their captives from Massachusetts, and parade them in triumph; amid storms of applause, in the hall filled with rebels and rebel sympathizers. It is possible that South Carolina was truly represented on that occasion; but the world well knows that ‘Old Massachusetts,’ the Massachusetts of Lexington, of Concord, and of Bunker Hill, was not there. It may be that hereafter, when repentance and forgiveness have restored peace and harmony to our country, in some distant day, some man who represented South Carolina in that scene may represent her again in some place of honor and trust in the government of the Union; but it is pleasant to know that the men who there disgraced Massachusetts will never be called by her people to fill any office or power while the sun shines, or water runs.

“The rebellious people of the South having with such great unanimity refused to elect senators and representatives to Congress who were qualified according to law, as the Administration plan required, the question at once arose, Who shall yield,—the nation, or the rebels; the victor, or the vanquished? The peace party of the North, under the same influences which controlled it during the war, promptly took side with the rebels. By their votes and speeches in Congress, they

denounced the loyal oath, declared it to be tyrannical and unconstitutional, and began, in the usual way, an agitation looking to its repeal. The Union party was equally prompt and explicit in taking sides against the rebels, and in favor of the law. Upon the first opportunity, after the meeting of Congress in December last, Mr. Hill, a Union member of the House from Indiana submitted this resolution:—

“*Resolved*, That the Act of July 2, 1862, prescribing an oath to be taken and subscribed by persons elected or appointed to office under the government of the United States, before entering upon the duties of such office, is of binding force and effect on all departments of the public service, and should in no instance be dispensed with.’

“A Democrat from Ohio, Mr. Finck, moved that it be tabled, which was disagreed to (yeas, 32; nays, 126), and the resolution was passed; every Union man, save one, voting for it, and every Democrat voting against it. Among those voting for the resolution were Mr. Raymond, Gen. Rousseau, and all the other members who subsequently became known as the special friends of the President. What course the President himself would pursue was not for a long time clearly apparent. There were passages in his speeches, and veto messages, during the winter and spring, which, taken by themselves, indicated a purpose on his part to stand by the loyal oath. The same speeches and messages, however, contained repeated and violent attacks upon Congress

for refusing representation to eleven Southern States, when it was perfectly well known by him and the country, that, with a few exceptions, those States had elected no members of either house, qualified to take their seats, unless the loyal oath was repealed or disregarded. Besides, we heard neither from him or his supporters any complaint of the refractory spirit of the rebels, which has prevented them from yielding a cheerful obedience to the law. All complaints and accusations were aimed at Congress. In his Annual Message, the President, speaking of his policy of restoration, had said, 'I know very well that this policy is attended with some risk; that, for its success, it requires at least the acquiescence of the States which it concerns; that it implies an invitation to those States, by renewing their allegiance to the United States, to resume their functions as States of the Union. But it is a risk that must be taken; and, in the choice of difficulties, it is the smallest risk; and to diminish, and, if possible, to remove, all danger, I have felt it incumbent upon me to assert one other power of the General Government, — the power of pardon. As no State can throw a defence over the crime of treason, the power of pardon is exclusively vested in the Executive Government of the United States. In exercising that power, I have taken every precaution to connect it with the clearest recognition of the binding force of the laws of the United States.'

"The President here avows his intention to exercise



the pardoning power in such a way as to obtain from the rebel States their acquiescence in his policy, and their clear recognition of the binding force of the laws of the United States. And yet the prominent actors, disregarding the law which prescribes the royal oath, including the disloyal men who sought and procured their own election as senators and representatives, have, so far as the public knows, found no difficulty on that account in obtaining pardons from the President. Other indications were not wanting that the tendency of the President was to yield to the demand of the rebels and their Northern allies.

“During Mr. Lincoln’s administration, there had grown up, partly under the Freedmen’s Bureau Act, and partly under military orders sanctioned by the usages of war, a system of dealing with loyal white refugees and freedmen, which seemed necessary for their protection and safety in the existing unsettled condition of the Southern country. This system Pres. Johnson had continued until long after actual hostilities had ceased. It was deemed advisable, by those charged with the administration of this system, that it should have the express authority of law. In this opinion, it was understood the President concurred. A bill was accordingly prepared, having for its model the system, which, up to that time, had been carried into effect chiefly by means of military orders. Its main provisions were not compulsory. It conferred extensive powers upon the President, which he might use or not,

according to his discretion. It was not expressly limited as to the time of its continuance; but it was understood on all sides to be a temporary measure to bridge over the period of confusion and disorder which always follows a civil war, and until the relation between capital and free labor has been established in place of the relation of master and slave. This bill was met by the President's veto.

“In many of the Southern States, laws were enacted in regard to the punishment of freedmen, and as to their rights to make contracts to hold real estate, to sue and testify in the courts, which were of such a character, that, if they were enforced, the colored people would be free only in name. In several instances, military commanders, with the approval of the President, have prevented the execution of these laws. In order to put an end to this sort of treatment of the freedmen, the Civil Rights Bill was proposed. It secured to colored people in the South the same rights which they enjoyed in Ohio under a policy adopted almost thirty years ago by a Democratic legislature, and which Mr. Pendleton, in his letter on the subject, says, ‘Has been found so consistent with justice to the negroes and the interests of the white, that no one, certainly no party in Ohio, would be willing to abandon it.’ This bill was also vetoed.

“The speeches and messages of the President on these bills indicated his conversion to the Rebel plan of protecting Southern Unionists and freedmen; that is to

say, they were to have such protection only as might be granted by the laws of the rebel States, administered by rebel officials. This left but one important step to take to completely commit his administration to the Rebel plan of restoration; viz., to abandon the condition that representatives and senators from the Southern States must be, in the President's word, 'Unmistakably and unquestionably loyal.' This step he has never ventured clearly and publicly to take; but the Philadelphia Convention settled that question. The fatal step has, in fact, been taken. The rebels know that they are to have their own way. The nation is to yield. Nothing will keep rebels out of Congress but the election of men determined to enforce and maintain Mr. Lincoln's loyal oath. The Philadelphia Convention on this subject passed the following resolution: 'Fourth, We call upon the people of the United States to elect to Congress none but men who admit the fundamental right of representation, and who will receive to seats *loyal* representatives from every State in *allegiance* to the United States, and submit to the consideration of each house to judge of the election returns and qualifications of its own members.' This resolution is intentionally ambiguous; but it will deceive nobody who does not wish to be deceived. The peace men and rebels, who were a large majority of that convention, openly declare that a '*loyal* representative' is one who is ready *now* to support the Constitution of the United States, and that no inquiry

should be made as to his loyalty during the Rebellion. They say that the word 'loyal' refers to the present or the future, not to the past. In this sense, it was adopted by the convention, and accepted by the President and his friends. If votes can be gained by claiming that it refers to past loyalty, to loyalty during the Rebellion, no doubt the claim will be made; but the simple truth is, under that resolution, Mr. Stephens, late vice-president of the rebel confederacy, and about seventy other rebels, intend to obtain seats in the Congress of the United States.

"The last remaining feature of the Administration plan of dealing with the people of the rebellious States having thus been abandoned, let us examine briefly the Rebel plan. It has the support, in all its parts, of the men, who, during the war, were peace men at the North, and rebels at the South. It has the advantage of being consistent with itself, and with the previous history of its authors and friends. Those who, in the North, opposed the North, were, during the whole struggle, in very close sympathy with the people engaged in the Rebellion: their sympathy for the loyal white people was not strong, and they were bitterly hostile to the loyal colored people, both North and South. Their plan is in harmony with all this. According to it, the rebels are hereafter to be treated in the same manner as if they had remained loyal. All laws, state and national, all orders and regulations of the military, naval, and other departments of the government, cre-

ating disabilities on account of participation in the Rebellion, are to be repealed, revoked, or abolished. The rebellious States are to be represented in Congress by the rebels they have chosen, without hinderance from any test oath. All appointments in the army, in the navy, and in the civil service, are to be made from men who were rebels, on the same terms as from men who were loyal. The people and governments in the rebellious States are to be subjected to no other interference or control, from the military or other departments of the General Government, than exists in the States which remained loyal. Loyal white men and loyal colored men are to be protected alone in those States by State laws, executed by State authorities, as if they were in the loyal States. The Union party objects to this plan, because it is wrong in principle, wrong in its details, and fatally wrong as a precedent and example for the future. It treats treason as no crime, and loyalty as no virtue. It restores to political honor and power in the government of the nation, men who have spent the best part of their lives in plotting the overthrow of that government, and who, for more than four years, levied public war against the United States. It allows Union men in the South, who have risked all, and many of whom have lost all but life, in upholding the Union cause, to be excluded from every office, state and national, and, in many instances, to be banished from the States they so faithfully labored to save. It abandons the four millions of loyal colored people who lost

the protection which owners give their property when they were made free to save a nation's life, to such treatment as the ruffian class of the South, educated in the barbarism of slavery, and the atrocities of the Rebellion, may choose to give them. It leaves the obligations of the nation to her creditors, and to the maimed soldiers, and to the widows and orphans of the war, to be fulfilled by men who hate the cause in which those obligations were incurred. It claims to be a plan which restores the Union without requiring conditions; but, in conceding to the conquered rebels the repeal of laws important to the nation's welfare, it grants a condition which they demand, while it denies to the loyal victors a condition, which they deem of priceless value.

“Instead of this plan of dealing with the people of the rebellious States, the Union party presents a plan which also has the merit of being in perfect harmony with the opinions and history of that party during the whole war. We have already seen that the leading objects or desire with the Union party have been, First, —

“1. The removal of every relic of slavery from the Federal Constitution and from the constitutions and laws of all the States.

“2. That loyalty should be respected, and treason made odious.

“3. That the national obligations to the patriotic people who furnished men and means to crush the Rebellion should be faithfully fulfilled.

“The Union party undertakes to accomplish these objects by an amendment of the National Constitution. No other form of guaranty has any title to be called irreversible. The constitution and laws of the States, and the resolutions of conventions, afford no security to the nation. They are changeable as the wishes and purposes of the men who make them. The creditor who takes security does not leave it in the possession and control of his doubtful debtor, but places it in his own safe, and keeps the key himself. The nation accepting pledges from the States lately in rebellion will place them in the National Constitution, where they will remain until removed by the nation’s consent. I do not stop to prove the right of the nation to require conditions clinched by constitutional amendment : among Union men, this is not an open question. Gov. Cox, in his admirable speech at Columbus, said truly, that every person, from the President to the humblest citizen who has claimed to belong to the Union party, has agreed that ‘terms involving some change in the organic law of the land must be accepted by the lately rebellious States as the condition of complete restoration.’ The terms embodied in the constitutional amendment proposed by the Union party are few in number, easily understood, and manifestly just.

“The first two sections of the amendment to get rid of the last vestige of slavery, which, under the color of law, still lingers in any part of the United States are as follows :— .

“ ‘SECTION 1. — All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States, and of the State in which they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States. Nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.’ ”

“ This secures to any person born or naturalized in the United States the equal protection of the laws in the enjoyment of life, liberty, and property. In Ohio, for twenty years this protection has been extended to every citizen, under State laws; and notwithstanding the efforts often made, by thoughtless or wicked persons, to create prejudice against colored people, no political party in the State ventures to commit itself in favor of a change. No argument is, therefore, needed here to prove, that, in return for the allegiance required of every citizen of the nation wherever oppression and unjust State legislation deprives such citizen of protection in the enjoyment of his natural rights, it is the duty of the United States to hold up before him the broad shield of the Constitution. No Union man can object to that section of the amendment.

“ ‘SECT. 2. — Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States, according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for president and vice-president of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of the State,



or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.'

“ This removes the unjust and unequal distribution of the political power between the North and the South originally caused by the constitutional provision in regard to slave representation. By that provision, three-fifths of the slaves were added to the number of the other people in the slave States, in ascertaining their representative population. This gave those States, by the census of 1860, eighteen more representatives in Congress, and eighteen more votes in electing a president and vice-president, than a free population would entitle them to. As those slaves are now free, they will be counted the same as other people: thus the effect of the Rebellion will be to reward the rebellious communities by an addition of twelve representatives to the Southern States. Those States will then have thirty representatives — as many as Ohio and Indiana combined — for their colored people, whom they pronounce totally and permanently unfit to be intrusted with the most paltry part of political power in their own States, counties, or towns. By this system, a white man in many of the Southern States will have as much political power as two or three white men in a Northern State.

It was said at the beginning of the war by the rebel press, that one white man could whip five Yankees; but the result proved that one Southern man is equal only to one Yankee; and representation ought hereafter to be established on that basis. Simple justice requires that the vast colored population of the South, who exercise no political power whatever, shall not be counted against the white population of the North for the purpose of increasing the political power of the late rebels. Let this section be adopted, and every voter in the land will have the same political power with any other voter; and this is equal and exact justice to all.

“ The third section read as follows :—

“ ‘ SECT. 3. — No person shall be a senator or a representative in Congress, or elector of president and vice-president, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. The Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each house, remove such disability.’ ”

“ This makes loyalty respected, and treason odious, by disqualifying leading rebels from holding any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State; thus leaving the places of honor and power within the reach of the loyal men of the South. The form of this provision is such, that it applies only to

men who have taken the oath to support the Constitution, and afterward broken it. These are, for the most part, the old political leaders, the men chiefly responsible for the Rebellion. The younger men, the men under thirty or thirty-five years of age, have very few of them been guilty of this perjury. Since the winter of 1860 and 1861 (a period of six years), no man in the Rebel States has been sworn to support the Constitution of the United States on taking office. Lapse of time, therefore, will soon relieve from the operation of this section the active part of the Southern people. Men who, to the guilt of treason, have added also the guilt of perjury, are to be punished by being forever excluded from office. This is the only punishment which the legislature of the last Congress seeks to inflict upon the perjured traitors who plotted the destruction of the republic. Yet the President—who for the last five years has been breathing threatenings and slaughter against the rebels, declaring to audiences in every State from Nashville to Washington, that leading rebels must be executed, and their estates confiscated—now says, in his reply to the Philadelphia committee, that the legislation of Congress has partaken of the character of penalties, retaliation, and revenge. Strange language from the lips of the President toward a co-ordinate branch of the government, even if it were warranted by the facts. But when we remember the punishments which have always followed the overthrow of rebellions in other countries; when

we remember the punishments and confiscations inflicted on the Tories of the Revolution in Georgia, Virginia, and South Carolina ; and especially when we remember the atrocious cruelties visited upon the loyal men at the South, and the punishment which was threatened them if the Rebellion was successful, — we cannot but be amazed at such an assertion in the face of the nation's unparalleled, and, I had almost said, inexcusable clemency.

“ The fourth section is as follows : —

“ ‘ SECT. 4. — The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions, and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States, nor any State, shall assume to pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave. That all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.’ ”

“ This section, while it makes sacred the loyal obligations, puts into the most solemn and enduring form the nation's condemnation of the Rebellion, by making void every obligation incurred in its behalf. The chief objection made against this section is that it is not necessary. But the intentions of the rebellious people are only too manifest. They mean to demand compensation for their emancipated slaves ; and, if that is refused, they will make that refusal their apology for the repudiation of every national obligation to

creditors and the nation's defenders, and their families. It is said that the Philadelphia convention framed a just and proper resolution on this subject, and that the rebel delegates made no objections. I appeal from the base-locked lips of the rebel delegates to the outspoken and authoritative declarations of the rebel press. I appeal to the official action in their own States of those delegates themselves. Gov. Orr of South Carolina, a moderate rebel, — so moderate, that Wade Hampton, who was not a candidate, came within a few votes of defeating him for governor, — was in that convention. In his message to the legislature of the State, he said, 'I therefore cherish the hope, that Congress will, as soon as the public debt is provided for, make some just and equitable arrangement to make the citizens of the South some compensation for the slaves manumitted by the United States authorities.' He cites the fact, that 'an appropriation was made by Congress to indemnify slave-owners in the District of Columbia, when slavery was abolished there in 1862,' as the precedent for the claim which he encourages the people of the South to make. The State of Georgia, through her act abolishing slavery, annexed this significant proviso: '*Provided*, that acquiescence in the action of the government of the United States is not intended to operate as a relinquishment, or waiver, or estoppel of such claim for compensation of his slaves as any citizen of Georgia may hereafter make upon the justice and magnanimity

of that government.' These quotations are enough to put the people of the nation upon their guard. This claim for emancipated slaves, amounting to from fifteen hundred to three thousand millions of dollars,—equal, perhaps, to the whole of the present national debt,—will surely be made, unless security shall be taken against it, and that security placed in a constitutional provision, of which the nation will hold the key.

“This is a short and imperfect presentation of the Union plan of restoration. The chief objection to it remains to be considered. It is said that the South will never accept of these terms, but, on the contrary, will require the nation to retain its laws, so that her seventy rebel senators and representatives, soon to be increased by her full negro representation, to eighty or ninety, will be admitted without question, to the United States. This presents the sole issue. The rebels say, ‘Peace, harmony, and restored union you can have, by giving up your just demands, and yielding to the unjust requirements of the South.’ This is the whole familiar story. For many years the people of the North believed it. For the sake of harmony and union, they yielded to every arrogant demand, until, at last, they learned that every concession was the parent of increased arrogance, and new threats of discord and disunion. Their manhood and sense of justice were at length aroused; and, in opposition to slavery extension and slavery dictation, they elected Abraham Lincoln president. The slaveholders rebelled, and, during four years, waged

against their own government a war of unparalleled atrocities. Overthrown and beaten in that war, prostrate and utterly helpless at its close, they now assume the air and bearing of conquerors, and propose to dictate terms. The Seward-Johnson party advises the people, for the sake of peace and union, to submit to this demand. The Union party is prepared to make great sacrifices in the future, as in the past, for the sake of peace and for the sake of union ; but submission to what is wrong can never be the foundation of a real peace, or a lasting union. They can have no other sure foundation but the principles of eternal justice. The Union men, therefore, say to the South, ‘ We ask nothing but what is right. We will submit to nothing that is wrong.’ With undoubting confidence we submit the issue to the candid judgment of the patriotic people of the country, under the guidance of that Providence which has hitherto blessed and preserved the nation.”

## CHAPTER XXI.

### GOVERNOR OF OHIO.

**Nomination for Governor. — His Leadership of a Forlorn Hope. — The Word "White." — Makes Eighty-one Speeches. — His Election. The Liberal Movement of 1872. — Hayes defeated. — His Retirement from Public Life.**

GEN. HAYES's majority in the congressional election of 1866 was twenty-five hundred and fifty-six ; and he had made his preparations for a stay of two years more in Washington, when, to his surprise, the State Republican Convention, held at Columbus, June 10, 1867, selected him with great unanimity as its candidate for governor. Again he came to the front as the leader of a forlorn hope. His party were compelled to meet in the succeeding canvass the question of negro equality as expressed in the proposed constitutional amendment striking out the word "white." There was a deep prejudice throughout the State against the negro, and it appeared as if it would be defeated. Nothing but a most vigorous canvass, with a candidate wholly untrammelled by previous mistakes or objectionable affiliations, could carry the election for the Republicans. Such a candidate they would have in the person of



Gen. Hayes; and they determined that he should be their leader.

To their call he reluctantly responded; and having consulted with his advisers, among whom was Gen. Garfield, he entered into the canvass with great zeal, and resigned his seat in Congress. It was a most remarkable and exciting contest, and called out all the available forces of both parties. Hon. Allen G. Thurman was the candidate of the Democracy, a strong and able statesman of unquestioned integrity, and possessed of great personal influence among the people; while Messrs. Vallandigham, S. S. Cox, Pendleton, Groesbeck, Voorhees, Morgan, Ranny, and all the local celebrities of that party, added their force to the battle.

It is said that Judge Thurman made seventy-one speeches during the campaign, and that Gen. Hayes delivered eighty-one; each discussing the other's speeches in a way that was very inciting to the masses, and often exceedingly entertaining. Yet, in his addresses, Gen. Hayes always treated Judge Thurman with courtesy and respect, never descending to the least slur or innuendo concerning the personal character of his opponent, conducting himself, in that respect, in accordance with his invariable practice elsewhere. The dangerously plausible theory of paying off the national debt by issuing national currency was also introduced into the campaign by Mr. Pendleton, and attracted many voters by its novelty and plausibility.

So close was the vote, that, while Gen. Hayes was elected by about three thousand votes, the Democratic party secured a majority of both houses in the State legislature, thus defeating, for the time, the constitutional amendment. Gen. Hayes's personal popularity, and his wonderful resources when called out by such an emergency, carried him far ahead of the vote of his party.

In 1869 he was again nominated; and, having now obtained a strong weapon in the shape of the extraordinary long sessions of the Democratic legislature and their inconsiderate appropriations of public funds, he entered the canvass, confident that his party would be victorious. His speeches at that time upon the internal affairs of Ohio were regarded as masterpieces among political speeches, and were crowded with valuable information for the citizens of that State. His opponent at that election was Hon. George H. Pendleton, whose glittering fallacies about creating a paper currency as valuable as gold drew a large number of the middle and lower classes to his support. Gen. Hayes was, however, elected, having a majority of 7,518 votes, and saving his party from a renewed defeat. It would seem to be an impossibility for any man to pass through such a heated and closely contested political battle, and have no enemies at the close of it. Yet such is the testimony of both parties; and his opponents, the Democrats chosen at that election, even went so far as to propose a combination with some of the Republicans

for the purpose of electing him United States senator; and, had he not persistently and absolutely refused to accept the office, he would certainly have been elected, instead of Senator Sherman, whom he faithfully supported.

As Chief Executive of the State, he won the praises of every party, and the respect of every class.

In 1872 Gen. Hayes was again a candidate for Congress; but the *momentum* of the new Liberal Republican and Democratic combination was too great to be overcome by personal popularity or individual ability. Hon. William Allen was elected governor, and Gen. Hayes defeated in his own district. It appears from his speeches, and the reports of the canvass, that he did not enter into the campaign with much zest; and it is not probable that he cared much for the lesser office, having repeatedly held, and so recently refused, a greater.

When the result of that election was known, Gen. Hayes resolved to seek in a retired life that quiet and rest which both he and his wife so much desired. His purpose to enter no more into the turmoil of political strife, and to return no more to the less weighty battles of the courts, appears to have been fixed beyond the slightest reservation. He had done his duty, and now could spend the remainder of his days in the sweet peace of a rural home.

## CHAPTER XXII.

### POLITICAL TEXTS.

**Expressions by Gen. Hayes. — His Political Creed. — The Motives of his Life. — The Principles by which he has been governed. — The Safeguards of the Nation.**

**DURING** Gen. Hayes's public life, before the important events which find a place in the succeeding chapters, he made many speeches, and from them had often been taken some expression as a text for the campaigns. In them can be found much of his political creed; and we insert them for such as may desire to study more carefully his character in a political light.

The following are some of his sayings, viz.: —

“The government ought not to interfere with religious sects; and religious sects ought not to interfere with government or political parties.”

“Our motto is, Honest money for all, and free schools for all. There should be no inflation which will destroy the one, and no sectarian influence which will destroy the other.”

“I hope to be able, without forgetting my Republi-

canism, to so act on a large majority of subjects as to secure the approval of my constituents of all parties."

"There is no halfway house between honest payments and repudiation."

"It is the past record of a statesman for patriotism for wisdom, for statesmanship, that is the best pledge of his future."

"Until every question arising out of the Rebellion, relating to the integrity of the nation, relating to the rights of man, relating to the payment of the debt, has been settled, and wisely settled, this people should trust with power no man, who, during the great struggle for the nation's life, was unfaithful to the cause of Union and of liberty."

"Irredeemable currency is the parent of panics."

"The credit of the nation depends on its ability and disposition to keep its promises."

"We attack no sect and no man, Protestant or Jew, Catholic or unbeliever, on account of his honest convictions in regard to religion."

"If you want a law faithfully and fairly administered, intrust power only to its friends."

"The congressman who maintains good relations with the Executive usually receives a larger share of patronage than one who is independent. The system is a bad one. It degrades the civil service. It ought to be abolished. We ought to have a reform of the system of appointments of the civil service, thorough, radical, and complete."

"Laws ought to be as few and simple and brief as possible."

"All schemes to influence legislation by what is termed 'log-rolling,' and by 'rings,' are to be unqualifiedly condemned."

"It is for our interest that the condition of the South should be one of universal prosperity and universal peace."

"Every dollar of our bonded debt should be discharged honestly, and no stain left on the good name of the nation."

"Inquire who Jeff Davis wants elected, and the patriot can tell whom he does not want elected."

"I must tell the truth, and be honest with the people, or I do not deserve their votes."

"Make no mistakes which shall make glad the heart of a traitor."

"Long sessions, excessive legislation, reckless expenditures — let there be a reform as to all of them."

"Trust no man with power until reconstruction is complete, who was unfaithful to the country during the war."

"We maintain that there ought to be a thorough and sweeping reform."

"Color ought to have no more to do with voting than size."

"Justice and equality are the sure foundations of prosperity and peace."

"The reason I am in favor of impartial suffrage, is *because it is right.*"

“In politics, in morals, in public and in private life, the right is always expedient.”

“In every republican State the military power must be in subordination to the civil.”

“Whoever seeks to divide this nation into two sections — into a North and a South — is opposed to the nation.”

“Great political movements always have some adequate cause.”

“Ours is not the government of the native born or of the foreign born, or of the rich man or of the poor man, of the white man or of the colored man : it is the government of the freeman.”

“The authority of the United States ought to be asserted and maintained.”

“Any man who would leave the army at this time to electioneer for Congress ought to be scalped.”

“Tell Gov. Tod I’ll be on hand.”

“If I leave my post before the enemy, I shall deserve defeat.”

“The loyal people of the South need special and powerful protection.”

“South Carolina was truly represented there ; but the world knows that old Massachusetts, the Massachusetts of Lexington, of Concord, of Bunker Hill, was not there.”

“Loyalty should be respected, and treason made odious.”

“The national obligations to the people who furnished

men and means to crush the Rebellion should be faithfully fulfilled."

"The resolutions of conventions afford no security to the nation."

"Submission to what is wrong can never be the foundation of a real peace or a lasting union."

"We ask nothing but what is right: we will submit to nothing that is wrong."

"I would prefer to go into the war, if I knew I was to die or be killed in the course of it, rather than to live through and after it, without taking part in it."

"It is every man's duty to do what he can to make others happy."



## CHAPTER XXIII.

### GEN. HAYES'S HOME.

Death of Sardis Birchard. — Gen. Hayes becomes his Heir. — Description of the Estate he left. — Its Occupancy by Gen. Hayes. — Its Simplicity and Cleanliness. — Gen. Hayes purposes to remain upon it, and avoid Political Promotion. — His Speech at a Reception in Fremont.

IN January, 1874, Sardis Birchard died, leaving all his large estates and banking investments to Gen. Hayes. His remarkable career, from the time he purchased the first little drove of hogs which fed upon the refuse grain in the yard of Lamb & Hayes's distillery at Delaware, to his becoming the wealthiest banker in Central Ohio, is full of interest, and often as exciting as a romance. But through it all, as if furnishing a motive for his otherwise lonely life, his love for his nephew glows with sweetness and constancy, casting a halo of brightness about the most ordinary transactions. His home was ever a haven of rest to his weary nephew; and no person ever called on Uncle Birchard, in the name of Rutherford, without being welcomed, assisted, and honored. He was a public benefactor, often bestowing liberally toward public charities, and at one time presenting a large and beautiful park, and

fifty thousand dollars in money, to the town of Fremont, the home of his later years. Yet in all these he consulted his nephew to see if the gift was approved by him. When old age, and premonitions of his likelihood to soon see the end of his days, pressed close upon him, he was anxious that Gen. Hayes and his family should make their home in Fremont; and, in accordance with his desire, they took up their residence there one or two years before his death, and have not been absent since, except when at their temporary residence in Columbus, since he has been elected governor the third time.

The house which Gen. Hayes and his family now inhabit as their home is the same estate at Fremont which Mr. Birchard adorned; and they occupy the same brick house built by him in 1862. It is a plain two-story building, with a gable-roof, and an L of the same material and outline. Since the governor's occupancy, he has built a frame addition to the L, of spacious proportions, for the working and living convenience of his servants. A piazza of generous shelter, but unpainted floor, extends across the front-end and the two sides of the main building. As a writer for "The Toledo Blade" remarks, "there is not a tower, nor balcony, nor finial, nor filagree of any kind. The bricks know neither drab nor red paint, but are of the good red color, of well sanded mortar and from a well-burnt kiln."

The house fronts squarely to the east, and stands upon the margin of a grove of grand old oaks and

hickories, from whose branches the native fox, squirrel, and red-tufted woodcock have never been frightened.

At the right, within the hall, is a decidedly narrow staircase; at the left, is the door opening into the parlor; and in front is another, opening into the sitting-room. Upon the wall by the closet-door, under the staircase, is a small, cheap hanging hat-rack.

The parlor is a room about fifteen by twenty feet, with a Brussels carpet of red and green figure; chairs and divans upholstered in haircloth, and some in green rep; two marble-topped tables; a piano; a stand and stereoscope with views; and well-curtained windows, but no lambrequins. Upon the walls are chromos and paintings, the chief of which is a fine portrait of the governor's benefactor, Mr. Birchard. The ceilings and walls are unpapered, and untouched with fresco, or gilding, or plaster ornament. They are finished in spotless white; and so are all the walls throughout the house, except the dining-room.

The sitting-room is a comfortable, well-used apartment, in which the poorest or the richest could feel equally at home.

Upon the wall are various pictures, and one very fine group of the governor and Mrs. Hayes with their children, Richard A., twenty-two years of age, now at Harvard Law-school; Webb C., nineteen, now at Columbus; Rutherford P., seventeen, also at Columbus; and the next youngest, Fannie, the only daughter; and Scott, a little five-year-old boy. Upon the

mantle are large kerosene lamps, trimmed and ready. In this room are held family prayers; Mrs. Hayes being a member of the Methodist Church, and her husband an attendant with her.

From the sitting-room, a door opens into the governor's sleeping-room, with a pleasant outlook to the south.

The dining-room is entered from the sitting-room, and is now a spacious apartment, having been made so by the governor soon after the death of his uncle, by opening into one fine room that which the old gentleman had partitioned off into two or three. Around the long extension-table, standing in the centre, the governor has generously regaled his professional, military, political, and private friends. Upon the wall facing the chair from which the governor serves the viands is a fine engraving of the martyr Lincoln; and on the right wall is a picture of Washington. Here, as in the parlor, is simplicity. The table is of ash; and the chairs are cane-seated, like those in a good hotel. Wine and other liquors are not a beverage at that table, nor are cigars or tobacco used here by any of the family.

The second story is divided into chambers occupied by his family, and for library purposes; two rooms being crowded with shelving and books. Here is one of the tables upon which the governor writes many of his letters, and transacts much of his business, when at home, and upon which, it is said, were blocked out many

of his brilliant and triumphant campaigns. It is simply an unpainted pine board resting on two stools made in the shape of carpenter's "saw-horses." The library is very extensive and very choice, including all the standard English and American authors.

About the house are forty acres of grove or woodland; and to the north of that are the open acres of the general's large farm. Convenient walks covered with tan bark, and spacious macadamized carriage-ways, open the grounds to the strolls of the inmate or visitor; while a great number of squirrels and birds inhabit every sly nook.

Every thing about the estate, within and without, is indicative of comfort and thrift. The small-pattern carpet in the hall-way, the bright little figures in the parlor carpet, the plain white muslin curtains at the windows, the substantial haircloth furniture, the neat but cheap pictures on the walls, the cleanliness of every thing, and the "stylishness" of nothing, speaks touchingly of the true housewife, the noble consort, the faithful Christian mother, of whom we would love to speak further, were our respect for the sacredness and security of that holy precinct—the family-circle everywhere—less binding upon our conscience.

The cragged trees, the wide veranda, the convenient arrangement of the buildings, all indicate the control and supervising care of one who loves realities less than sham, convenience rather than vain display.

The house is located a little more than half a mile

from the business centre of Fremont, near enough for obtaining the privileges of the city, and yet sufficiently remote to gain all the beauty, simplicity, and rural retirement of a home in the country.

In that place Gen. Hayes had taken up his abode with the pleasing prospect of a happy and undisturbed life for himself and his loved ones, when the events of 1875 broke in upon his repose, and forcibly drew him from his chosen retreat.

The people of Fremont were no less pleased to have him among them than he was to reside there; and on the evening of June 24, 1876, after his nomination for the presidency of the United States, they all came out, irrespective of party, to congratulate him, and welcome him home from Columbus. At that reception he made the following references to his residence among them:—

“I need not attempt to express the emotions I feel at the reception which the people of Fremont, and of this county, have given me to-night. Under any circumstances, an assemblage of this sort, at my home, to welcome me, would touch me, and would excite the warmest emotions of gratitude; but what gives to this its distinctive character is the fact that those that are prominent in welcoming me home, I know very well, in the past, have not voted with me or for me, and they do not intend, in the future, to vote with me or for me. It is simply that, coming to my home, they rejoice that Ohio, that Sandusky County, that the town of Fremont,

has received at that convention that honor; and I thank you, Democrats, fellow-citizens, Independents, and Republicans, for this spontaneous and warm and enthusiastic reception. I trust, that, in the course of events, the time will never come that you will have cause to regret what you do to-night. It is a very great responsibility that has been placed upon me, to be a representative of twenty millions of people, — a responsibility which I know very well I am not equal to perform. I understand very well that it was not by reason of ability or talents that I was chosen. There were accidents and contingencies that caused this result; but that which does rejoice me is, that here, where I have been born, and where I spent my childhood, there are those that come and rejoice at the result.

“Let me, if I may do it without too much egotism, recur to the history of my connection with Fremont. Forty-two years ago my uncle, Sardis Birchard, came to this place; and I rejoice, my friends, at the good taste and feeling which has placed his portrait here to-night. He, having adopted me as his child, brought me to Fremont. I recollect well the appearance of the then Lower Sandusky, consisting of a few wooden buildings scattered along the river, with very little paint on them, and these trees, none of them grown; the old fort still having some of its earth-works remaining, so that it could be easily traced. A pleasant village this was for a boy to enjoy himself in. There was the fishing on the river, shooting water-fowls over

the dam, on the island, and the lake ; and perhaps no boy ever enjoyed his departure from home better than I did when I came to Fremont. But now see what Fremont is, how it has grown. It has not increased to a first-class city ; but it has become a pleasant home, so pleasant and so thriving, that I rejoice to think, that, whatever may be the result next fall, it will be pleasant to return to it when all is over. If defeated, I shall return to you oftener than if I go to the White House ; and, if I go there, I shall rejoice at the time when I shall be permitted to return to you, to be a neighbor with you again ; and really we have no cause not to be satisfied with our home and the large interests which will be for us here in the future. Larger cities always have some strife and rivalry, from which we are free ; and yet we are situated between two commercial centres, East and West, between which is the great highway of the world, and we cannot but partake of their prosperity. Those of our friends who travel to Europe return sometimes dissatisfied, because there is a roughness in this country not seen in England and the older countries of Europe ; but then the greatest happiness, as all of us know, in preparing a garden or a house, is to see the improvements growing up in our hands. This is what we enjoy ; and the change in Fremont from the time I first knew it, till to-day, gives me pleasure.

“There is another change which makes me feel sadder, and gives rise to mournful reflections. When



I came here in 1864, I learned the names of many citizens who knew me in my boyhood. There was, Mr. Mayor, your father, Rudolphus Dickinson, Thomas Hawkins, and, among others, that marvel of business energy, George Grant. And so I might go on giving name after name; but it is true, that, of all that I remember seeing on that first visit, not one is with us to-night. All those who came with me — my mother, my sister — are gone. I have been touched scarcely by any thing that has occurred since the nomination, as much as by a letter from a friend at Norwalk, who wrote, 'If Sardis Birchard could only have lived to know this.' But this is the order of Providence. Events follow upon one another as wave follows wave upon the ocean. It is for each man to do what he can to make others happy. That is the prayer, and that is the duty, of life. Let us, my friends, in every position, undertake to perform this. For me, I have no reliance except that which Abraham Lincoln had when he went from his friends at Springfield, when he said to his friends, 'I go to Washington to assume a responsibility greater than that which has been devolved upon any one since the first president; and I beg you, my friends and neighbors, to pray that I may have that divine assistance, without which I cannot succeed, and with which I cannot fail.' [Cheers.] In that spirit I ask you to deal with me. [Cheers.] If it shall be the will of the people that this nomination shall be ratified, all will be well. If, on the other hand, it shall be the will of the

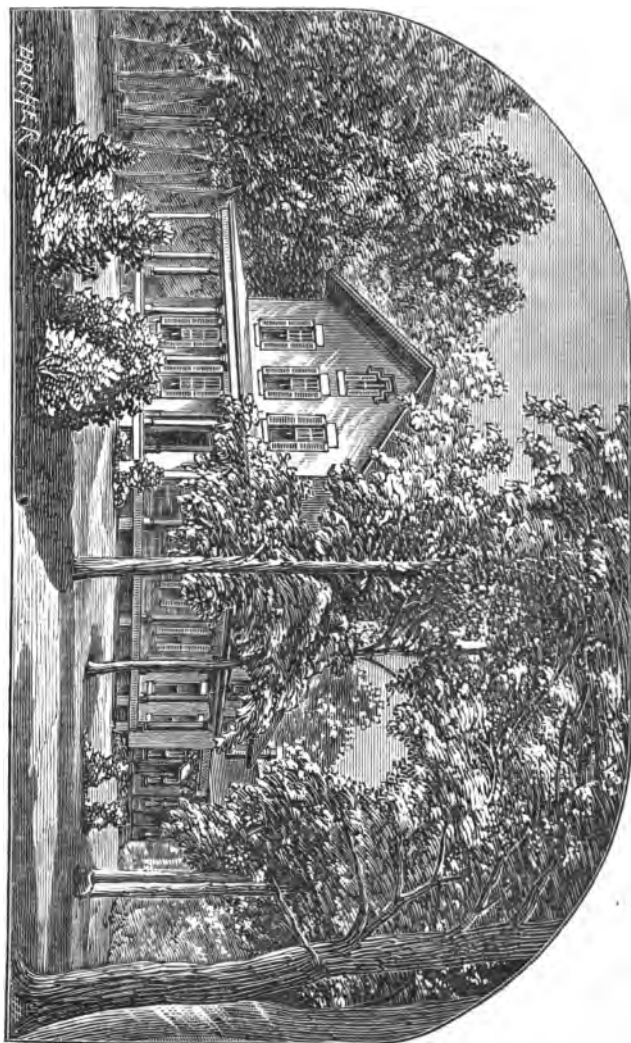
people that another shall assume these great responsibilities, let us see to it that we who oppose him give him a fair trial, and also our prayers.

“My friends, I thank you for the interest you have taken in this reception, and that you have laid aside partisan feeling. There has been too much bitterness, on such occasions, in this country. Let us see to it, that the abuse or vituperation of the candidate that shall be named at St. Louis does not proceed from our lips; let us, on this centennial occasion, this second century of our existence, set an example of what a free and intelligent nation can do.

“There is assembled at Philadelphia an assemblage representing nearly all nations of the world, with their arts and manufactures. We have invited competition; and they have come to compete with us and with each other. We find that America stands well with the works of the world, as there exhibited. We rejoice to know that Ohio stands well in that comparison. Let us show, in electing a chief magistrate of the nation, the officer that is to be the first of forty or forty-five millions of people; let us show all those who visit us how the American people can conduct themselves through a canvass of this sort. If it shall be in the spirit in which we have met here to-night, if it shall be that justness and fairness shall be in all the discussions, it will commend free institutions to the world in a way which they have never been commended before. [Cheers.]

“About the middle of the war, Gen. Sherman lost a boy named after himself, aged about ten or thirteen years. He supposed that he belonged to the Thirteenth Infantry; and when they went out to drill, or dress-parade, he dressed in the dress of a sergeant, and marched with them: but he sickened, and died. The regiment gathered about him; for he was to them a comrade as dear as a child is loved by men who are torn away from the associations of home. Gen. Sherman, the great soldier, was touched by it. He said that it would be idle for him to try to express the gratitude which he felt; but he said they held the affections of himself and family; and, if any of them should ever be in need, if they would just mention that they belonged to the Thirteenth Infantry the time his boy died, they would divide with him to the last blanket and the last morsel of food. It is in this spirit that I wish to express my feelings to the people of Fremont for the welcome given me to-night.”

PRIVATE RESIDENCE OF R. B. HAYES, FREMONT, O.



## CHAPTER XXIV.

### STATE CAMPAIGN OF 1875.

Called again to lead his Party. — His Support of Judge Taft. — His Reluctant Consent to be a Candidate for Governor. — His Great Speech at Marion. — Hard Money. — The School Question. — Catholic Voters. — Triumphant Election.

ONE who was connected with the events of 1875, and knew all the circumstances which drew Gen. Hayes from his quiet home into the arena of political warfare, has written, concerning these events, that "the Democrats had the governor, the legislature, the secretary of state, the school commissioner, and clerk of the Supreme Court, all elected on the popular vote; and had carried the State the year before by a majority of nearly seventeen thousand. That majority had to be overcome to achieve Republican success; and all over the State there was a popular acclaim that Gen. Hayes was the man to overcome it. There were grave doubts, however, as to whether he would accept the nomination, and not without reason. To all who had approached him on this subject, he had expressed an extreme disinclination to do so, and had discouraged, to the full extent that he could, the use of his name. Neverthe-

less, public sentiment in his favor rapidly grew in force and volume, and, by the time the State convention met in June, was simply overwhelming. There was no longer any doubt as to whether he would be nominated; but it was still by no means certain that he would accept the nomination. The only other candidate proposed for governor was Judge Taft of Cincinnati, whose high standing and abilities were universally acknowledged, and were warmly pressed upon the convention by earnest friends. Gen. Hayes himself favored the nomination of Judge Taft, and, in reply to telegrams, strongly recommended it, at the same time speaking in the highest terms of Mr. Taft, and positively refusing to be a candidate against him. With this despatch before it, the convention assembled, and, on the first ballot, cast four-fifths of its votes for Gen. Hayes. That there might be no obstacle in the way of his acceptance, Judge Taft gracefully authorized the withdrawal of his name; and the nomination was made unanimous, amid great enthusiasm. Gen. Hayes was promptly notified of this action, and, in reply, telegraphed, —

“ ‘In obedience to the wishes of the convention, I yield my preference, and accept the nomination.’ ”

Like Cincinnatus the Roman statesman, Hayes preferred his fields of wheat, his droves of cattle and swine, to the loftiest and easiest position which the nation could bestow, and left them only when there was an unmistakable need of him in the councils of state. Again was he the leader of an arduous, and, but for his personal power, a hopeless campaign.

He did not desire either office or emolument. The President had tempted him with a shining bait a short time before, when he requested Hayes to accept the nomination for assistant United States treasurer at Cincinnati; but he could not be moved. Now, however, when he considers that the people need instruction, and the nation a defender in Ohio, he takes the field, and bravely faces the supporters of sectarian schools, and of a spurious currency, who have had control of his State so long.

In this campaign it is said that he made the most effective and eloquent speeches of his life; and, as we promised to do in a previous chapter, we now give one of them in full. It was delivered at Marion, Lawrence County, O., July 31, 1875.

“Fellow-citizens of Lawrence County, it is a gratification, for which I wish to make my acknowledgments to the Republican committee of this county, to have the privilege of beginning, in behalf of the Republicans of Ohio, the oral discussions of this important political canvass before the people of Lawrence County. Although my residence is separated from yours by the whole breadth of the State, we are not strangers. We have met before on similar occasions; and some of you were my comrades in the Union army during a considerable part of the late civil conflict, which ended ten years ago. Those who had the honor and the happiness to serve together during that memorable struggle

are not likely to forget each other. We shall forever regard those four years as the most interesting period of our lives.

“The great majority of the people of Lawrence County, citizens as well as soldiers, have also good reason to recall the events and scenes of that contest with satisfaction and pride.

“The official records of the State show how well Lawrence County performed her part in the war for the Union. From the beginning to the end, — with the ballot at home, and with the musket in the field, — this county stood among the foremost of all the communities in the United States in devotion to the good cause; and, since the nation's triumph, Lawrence County, sooner or later (but never too late to rejoice in the final and decisive victory), has supported every measure required to secure the legitimate results in that triumph. You have done your part forever to set at rest the great questions of the past. It is settled that the United States constitute a nation, and that their government possesses ample power to maintain its authority, over every part of its territory, against all opposers. It is settled that no man under the American flag can be a slave. It is settled that all men born or naturalized in the United States, and within its jurisdiction, shall be citizens thereof, and have equal civil and political rights. It is settled that the debt contracted to save the nation is sacred, and shall be honestly paid. You may well be congratulated, that, on all of these questions, you fought and voted on the right side.



“ Fortunately there is still further cause for congratulation. Our adversaries — who were on the wrong side of all these questions, and who opposed us on all of them to the very last — are now compelled to be silent in their platform on every one of them. Not a single one of their fourteen resolutions raises any question on any of these long-contested subjects. It is not strange that they are silent. I do not choose, on this occasion, to recall the predictions of evil which they so confidently made when discussing the measures to which I have referred. It is enough for my present purpose to point to the grand results. When the Republican party, with Abraham Lincoln as president, received the government from the hands of the Democratic party, fifteen years ago, the Union of the fathers was destroyed. A hostile nation, dedicated to perpetual slavery, had been established south of the Potomac, and claimed jurisdiction over one-third of the people and territory of the republic. These States were ‘dissevered, discordant, belligerent:’ our land was rent with civil feud, and ready to be drenched in fraternal blood. Now, behold the change! The Union is re-established on firmer foundations than ever before. Brave men in the South, who were then in battle-array against us, now stand side by side with the Union soldiers, no shadow of discord between them. Slavery, which was then an impassable gulf between the hostile sections, is now gone; and good men of the South unite with good men of the North in thanking God that it

is forever a thing of the past. Then there was no freedom of speech or of press, no friendly mingling-together of the people of the two sections of the country: now the people of the South receive, and greet as a fellow-citizen and a friend, the vice-president, a citizen of Massachusetts, and an antislavery man from his youth; and Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina send their distinguished sons to celebrate with New England the centennial anniversaries of the early battles of the Revolution. The men of the North and the men of the South are now everywhere coming together in a spirit of harmony and friendship, which this generation has not witnessed before, and which has not existed now since Jefferson was startled by that 'fire-bell in the night,' the Missouri question, more than fifty years ago.

"In this era of good feeling and reconciliation, a few men of morbid temperament, blind to what is passing before them, still talk of 'bayonets,' and 'tyranny and cruelty to the South,' and seek in vain to revive the prejudices and passions of the past. But there is barely enough of this angry dissent to remind us of the terrible scenes through which we have passed, and to fill us with gratitude that the house which was divided against itself is divided no longer, and that all of its inhabitants now have a fair start, and an equal chance, in the race of life.

"Let us now proceed to the consideration of some of the questions which engage the attention of the people

of Ohio. The war which the Democratic party and its doctrines brought upon the country left a large debt, heavy taxation, depreciated currency, and an unhealthy condition of business, which resulted, two years ago, in a financial panic and depression, from which the country is now slowly recovering. With this condition of things, the Democratic party, in its recent state convention at Columbus, undertook to deal.

“The most important part, in fact the only part, of their platform in Ohio this year, which receives or deserves much attention, is that in which is proclaimed a radical departure on the subject of money from the teachings of all of the Democratic fathers. This Ohio Democratic doctrine inculcates the abandonment of gold and silver as a standard of value. Hereafter gold and silver are to be used as money only ‘where respect for the obligation of contracts requires payment in coin.’ The only currency for the people is to be paper money, issued directly by the General Government, ‘its volume to be made and kept equal to the wants of the trade,’ and with no provision whatever for its redemption in coin. The Democratic candidate for lieutenant-governor, who opened the canvass for his party, states the money issue substantially as I have. Gen. Cary, in his Barnesville speech, says, —

“‘Gold and silver, when used as money, are redeemable in any property there is for sale in the nation, will pay taxes for any debt, public or private. This alone gives them their money value. If you had a hundred

gold eagles, and you could not exchange them for the necessities of life; they would be trash, and you would be glad to exchange them for greenbacks, or any thing else that you could use to purchase what you require.

*With an absolute paper money stamped by the government, and made a legal tender for all purposes, and its functions as money are as perfect as gold or silver can be.'*

"This is the financial scheme which the Democratic party asks the people of Ohio to approve at the election in October. The Republicans accept the issue. Whether considered as a permanent policy, or as an expedient to mitigate present evils, we are opposed to it. It is without warrant in the Constitution; and it violates all sound financial principles.

"The objections to an inflated and irredeemable paper currency are so many, that I do not attempt to state them all. They are so obvious and so familiar, that I need not elaborately present or argue them. All of the mischief which commonly follows inflated and incontrovertible paper money may be expected from this plan; and, in addition, it has very dangerous tendencies which are peculiarly its own. An irredeemable and inflated paper currency promotes speculation and extravagance, and, at the same time, discourages legitimate business, honest labor, and economy. It dries up the true sources of individual and public prosperity; overtrading and fast living always go with it; it stimulates the desire to incur debt; it causes high rates of interest; it increases importations from abroad; it has

no fixed value; it is liable to frequent and great fluctuations, thereby rendering every pecuniary engagement precarious, and disturbing all existing contracts and expectations; it is the parent of panics; every period of inflation is followed by a loss of confidence, a shrinkage of values, depression of business, panics, lack of employment, and widespread disaster and distress; the heaviest part of the calamity falls on those least able to bear it. The wholesale dealer, the middleman, and the retailer, always endeavor to cover the risks of the fickle standard of value by raising their prices; but the men of small means, and the laborer, are thrown out of employment; and want and suffering are liable soon to follow.

“When government enters upon the experiment of issuing irredeemable paper money, there can be no fixed limit to its volume. The amount will depend on the interest of the leading politicians, on their whims, and on the excitement of the hour. It affords such facility for contracting debt, that extravagant and corrupt government expenditures are the sure result. Under the name of public improvements, the wildest enterprises, contrived for private gain, are undertaken. Indefinite expansion becomes the rule, and, in the end, bankruptcy, ruin, and repudiation.

During the last few years, a great deal has been said about the centralizing tendency of recent events in our history. The increasing power of the government at Washington has been a favorable theme for Demo-

cratic declamation. But where, since the formation of the government, has a proposition been seriously entertained which would confer such monstrous and dangerous powers on the General Government as this inflation scheme of the Ohio Democracy? During the war for the Union, solely on the ground of necessity, the Government issued the legal tender or greenback currency; but they accompanied it with a solemn pledge in the following words, of the Act of June 20, 1864:—

“‘Nor shall the total amount of United States notes issued, or to be issued, ever exceed four hundred millions, and such additional sum, not exceeding fifty millions, as may be temporarily required for redemption of temporary loans.’

“But the Ohio inflationists, in a time of peace, on grounds of mere expediency, propose an inconvertible paper currency, with its volume limited only by the discretion or caprice of its issuers, or their judgment as to the wants of the trade. The most distinguished gentleman whose name is associated with the subject once said, ‘The process must be conducted with skill and caution, . . . by men whose position will enable them to guard against any evil.’ And, using a favorite illustration, he said, ‘The secretary of the treasury ought to be able to judge. His hand is upon the pulse of the country: he can feel all the throbbings of the blood in the arteries: he can tell when the blood flows too fast and strong, and when the expansion should cease.’ This brings us face to face with the fundamen-

tal error of this dangerous policy. The trouble is, the pulse of the patient will not so often decide the question as the interest of the doctor. No man, no government, no Congress, is wise enough and pure enough to be trusted with the tremendous power over the business and property and labor of the country. That which concerns so intimately all business should be decided, if possible, on business principles, and not be left to depend on the exigencies of politics, the interests of party, or the ambition of public men. It will not do for property, for business, or for labor, to be at the mercy of a few political leaders at Washington, either in or out of Congress. The best way to prevent it is to apply to paper money the old test sanctioned by the experience of all nations,—let it be convertible into coin. If it can respond to this test, it will be, as nearly as possible, sound, safe, and stable.

“The Republicans of Ohio are in favor of no sudden or harsh measures. They do not propose to force resumption by a contraction of the currency. They see that the ship is headed in the right direction; and they do not wish to lose what has already been gained. They are satisfied to leave to the influences of time, and the inherent energy and resources of the country, the work that yet remains to be done to place our currency at par. We believe that what our country now needs to revive business, and to give employment to labor, is a restoration of confidence. We need confidence in the stability and soundness of the financial

policy of the government. That confidence has, for many months past, been slowly but steadily increasing. The Columbus Democratic platform comes in as a disturbing element, and gives a severe shock to reviving confidence. The country believed, and rejoiced to believe, that Senator Thurman expressed the sober judgment of Ohio, when he spoke last year in the Senate on this subject. The senator said, March 24, 1874, —

“ ‘Never have I spoken of that inflation of the currency which, I think I see full well, means that there shall never be any resumption at all. That is the difference. It is one thing to contract the currency with a view to the resumption of specie payments: it is another thing neither to contract nor enlarge it, but let resumption come naturally, and as soon as the business and production of the country will bring it about. But it is a very different thing indeed to inflate the currency with a view never, in all time, to redeem it at all; and that is precisely what this inflation means. It means demonitizing gold and silver in perpetuity, and substituting a currency of irredeemable paper, based wholly and entirely upon government credit, and depending upon the opinion and the interests of the members of Congress, and their hopes of popularity, whether the volume of it shall be large or small. That is what this inflation means. Sir, I have never said any thing in favor of that: I am too old-fashioned a Democrat for that. I cannot give up the



convictions of a lifetime, whether they be popular or unpopular.'

"April 6, when the Senate inflation bill was debated, he said, —

" 'It simply means that no man of my age shall ever again see in this country that kind of currency which the framers of the Constitution intended should be the currency of the Union, which every sound writer on political economy, the world over, says, is the only currency that defrauds no man. It means, that so long as I live and possibly, long after I shall be laid in the grave, this people shall have nothing but an irredeemable currency with which to transact their business, — that currency which has been well described as the most effective invention that ever the wit of man devised to fertilize the rich man's field by the sweat of the poor man's brow. I will have nothing to do with it.'

"How great the shock which was given to returning confidence by the Democratic action at Columbus abundantly appears by the manner in which the platform is received by the Liberal and the English and the German Democratic press throughout the United States. The Liberal press and the German press, so far as I have observed, in the strongest terms condemn the platform. They speak of it as disturbing confidence, shaking credit, and threatening repudiation. A large part of the Democratic press of other States is hardly less emphatic. It would be strange indeed, if

this were otherwise. In Ohio, less than two years ago, the convention which nominated Gov. Allen resolved, speaking of the Democratic party, that, 'it recognizes the evils of an irredeemable paper currency, but insists, that, in the return to specie payment, care should be taken not to seriously disturb the business of the country, or injure the debtor class.' There was no inflation then. Now come the soft money leaders of the Democratic party, and try to persuade the people that the promises of the United States should only be redeemed by other promises, and that it is sound policy to increase them.

"The credit of the nation depends on its ability and disposition to keep its promises. If it fails to keep them, and suffers them to depreciate, its credit is tainted, and it must pay high rates of interest on all of its loans. For many years we must be a borrower in the markets of the world. The interest-bearing debt is over seven hundred millions of dollars. If we could borrow money at the same rate with some of the great nations of Europe, we could save, perhaps, two per cent per annum on this sum. Thirty or forty millions a year we are paying on account of tainted credit. The more promises to pay an individual issues, without redeeming them, the worse becomes his credit. It is the same with nations. The legal-tender note of five dollars is the promise of the United States to pay that sum in the money of the world,—in coin. No time is fixed for its payment. It is, therefore, payable on

presentation, on demand. It is not paid, it is past due; and it is depreciated to the extent of twelve per cent. The country recognizes the necessities of the situation, and waits, and is willing to wait, until the productive business of the country enables the government to redeem. But the Columbus financiers are not satisfied. They demand the issue of more promises. This is inflation. No man can doubt the result. The credit of the nation will inevitably suffer. There will be further depreciation. A depreciation of ten per cent diminished the value of the present paper currency from fifty to one hundred millions of dollars. Its effect on business would be disastrous in the extreme. The present legal tenders have a certain steadiness, because there is a limit fixed to their amount. Public opinion confides in that limit; but let that limit be broken down, and all is uncertainty. The authors of this scheme believe that inflation is a good thing. When this subject was under discussion a few years ago, 'The Cincinnati Enquirer' said, 'The issue of two thousand millions dollars of currency would only put it in the power of each voter to secure four hundred dollars for himself and family to spend in the course of a lifetime. Is there any voter thinks that is too much,—more than he will want?' This shows what the platform means: it means inflation without limit; and inflation is the downward path to repudiation. It means ruin to the nation's credit and to all individual credit. All the rest of the world have the same standard of value.

Our promises are worthless as currency the moment you pass the boundary-line. Even in this country, very extensive sections still use the money of the world. Texas, the most promising and flourishing State of the South, uses coin. California, and the other Pacific States and Territories, use the same. Look at their condition. Texas and California are not the least prosperous part of the United States. This scheme cannot be adopted. The opinion of the civilized world is against it; the vast majority of the ablest newspapers of the country are against it; the best minds of the Democratic party are against it; the last three Democratic candidates for the presidency were against it; the German citizens of the United States, so distinguished for industry, for thrift, and for soundness of judgment in all practical money-affairs, are a unit against it; the Republican party is against it; the people of Ohio will, I am confident, decide in October to have nothing to do with it.

“Since the adoption of the inflation platform at Columbus, a great change has taken place in the feelings and views of its friends. Then they were confident; perhaps it is not too much to say that they were dictatorial and overbearing towards their hard-money party associates. There was no doubt as to the intent and meaning of the platform. Its friends asserted that the country needed more money, and more money now; that the way to get it was to issue government legal-tender notes liberally. But the storm of criticism and

condemnation which burst upon the platform from the soundest Democrats in all quarters has alarmed its supporters. Many of them have been seized with a panic, and are now utterly stampeded, and in full retreat.

“They say that they are not for inflation, not for inconvertible paper money, and that they never have been; that they are hard-money men, and always have been; that they look forward to a return of specie payment, and that it must always be kept in view. Why, what did they mean by that platform? Did they expect to make money plenty by an issue of more coin? Certainly not. By an issue of more paper redeemable in coin? Certainly not. They expected to issue more legal-tender notes, — notes irredeemable and depreciated. But public opinion, as shown by the press, is so decidedly against them, that Ohio inflationists now begin to desert their own platform. Even Mr. Pendleton is solicitous not to be held responsible for the Columbus scheme. He says, ‘I speak for myself alone. I do not assume to speak for the Democratic party: its convention has spoken for it,’ and proceeds to interpret the platform as if it was for hard-money. Senator Thurman did not so understand it. He thought the hard-money men were beaten, and felt disappointed. It now looks as if Gen. Cary might be left almost alone before the canvass ends. If Judge Thurman could get that convention together again, it is evident that he could now, in the same body, rout the inflationists, horse, foot, and artil-

lery. Nothing but a victory in Ohio can put inflation again on its legs. Let it be defeated in October, and the friends of a sound and honest currency will have a clear field for at least the present generation.

“Two years ago the Democratic party came fully into power in Ohio in the State legislature, and, for the first time in twenty years, elected the executive of the State. They were also intrusted with the affairs of the leading cities, and a majority of the wealthiest and most populous counties, in the State. It would be profitable to inquire how this came about, and what are the results. In the course of the canvass, it is my purpose to show, in detail, how unfortunate their management of State affairs has been. It will appear, on investigation, that the interests of the State in the benevolent, penal, and reformatory institutions, have been sacrificed to the spoils doctrine; how the cities, and especially the chief city, of the State, has suffered by the corruption of its rulers; how public expenditures have been increased, until the aggregate of taxation in Ohio, in this time of money depression, is vastly larger than ever before; how the number of salaried officers was increased; how the members of the legislature were corrupted by bribery, notorious and shameless; and how the dominant party utterly failed to deal with this corruption as duty and the good name of the State demanded. Fallacious and deceptive statements have been made as to the reduction of the levy for State taxes, and as to the appropriations. It is enough now to say, that the aggregate

taxation in Ohio, in 1874, was over twenty-seven million dollars, a larger sum than was ever before collected by tax-gatherers in Ohio.

“ Altogether the most interesting questions in our State affairs are those which relate to the passage by the last legislature of the Geghan Bill, and to the war which the sectarian wing of the Democratic party is now waging against the public schools. In the admirable speech made by Judge Taft at the Republican State Convention, he sounded the keynote to the canvass on this subject. He said, ‘ Our motto must be universal liberty and universal suffrage, secured by universal education.’ Before we discuss these questions, it may be well, in order that there may be no excuse for further misrepresentation, to show by whom this subject was introduced into politics, and to state explicitly that we attack no sect, and no man, — either Protestant or Jew, Catholic or unbeliever, — on account of his conscientious convictions in regard to religion. Who began the agitation of this subject? Why is it agitated? All parties have taken hold of it. The Democratic party in their State convention made it the topic of their longest resolution. In their platform, they gave it more space than any other subject, except the currency. Many of the Democratic county conventions also took action upon it.

“ The Republican State Convention passed resolutions on the question. It is stated that it was considered in about forty Republican county conventions. The State

Teachers' Association at their last meeting passed unanimously the following resolution. Mr. Tappan, on the Committee of Resolutions, reported the following:—

“ ‘ *Resolved*, That we are in favor of free, impartial, and unsectarian education to every child in the State, and that any division of the school fund, or appropriation of any part thereof to any religious or private schools, would be injurious to education and the best interests of the Church.’

“ An able address by Rev. Dr. Jeffers of Cleveland, showing ‘the perils which threaten our public schools,’ was emphatically applauded by that intelligent body of citizens.

“ The assemblies of the different religious denominations in the State, which have recently been held, have generally, and, I think, without exception, passed similar resolutions. If blame is to attach to all who consider and discuss this question before the public, we have had a very large body of offenders. But I have not named all who are engaged in it. I have not named those who began it, those who for years have kept it up, those who in the press, on the platform, in the pulpit, in legislative bodies, in city councils, and in school boards, now unceasingly agitate the question. Everybody knows who they are. Everybody knows that the sectarian wing of the Democratic party begun this agitation, and that it is bent on the destruction of our free schools. If Republicans, acting on the defensive,



discuss the subject, and express the opinion that the Democratic party cannot safely be trusted, they are denounced in unmeasured terms. Gen. Carr calls them 'political knaves' and 'fools' and 'bigots.' But it is very significant that no Democratic speaker denounces those who began the agitation. All their epithets are levelled at the men who are on the right side of the question. Agitation on the wrong side, agitation against the schools, may go on. It meets no condemnation from leading Democratic candidates and speakers. The reason is plain. Those who mean to destroy the school system constitute a formidable part of the Democratic party, without whose support that party, as the legislature was told last spring, cannot carry the county, the city, or the state.

"The sectarian agitation against the public schools was begun many years ago. During the last few years, it has steadily and rapidly increased, and has been encouraged by various indications of possible success. It extends to all of the States where schools at the common expense have been long established. Its triumphs are mainly in the large towns and cities. It has already divided the schools, and, in a considerable degree, impaired and limited their usefulness. The glory of the American system of education has been, that it was so cheap, that the humblest citizen could afford to give his children its advantages, and so good, that the man of wealth could nowhere provide for his children any thing better. This gave the system its most con-

spicuous merit. It made it a Republican system. The young of all conditions of life are brought together and educated on terms of perfect equality. The tendency of this is to assimilate and to fuse together the various elements of our population, to promote unity, harmony, and general good-will in our American society. But the enemies of the Republican system have begun the work of destroying it. They have forced away from the public schools, in many towns and many cities, one-third to one-fourth of their pupils, and sent them to schools, which, it is safe to say, are no whit superior to those they have left. These youth are thus deprived of the associations and education in practical Republicanism and American sentiments, which they peculiarly need. Nobody questions their constitutional and legal rights to do this, and to do it by denouncing the public schools. Sectarians have a lawful right to say that these schools are 'a relic of Paganism, that they are godless,' and that 'the secular school system is a social cancer.' But when, having thus succeeded in dividing the schools, they make that a ground for abolishing school taxation, dividing the school fund, or otherwise destroying the system, it is time that its friends should rise up in its defence.

"We all agree that neither the government nor political parties ought to interfere with religious sects. It is equally true that religious sects ought not to interfere with the government or political parties. We believe

that the cause of good government and the cause of religion both suffer by all such interference. But if sectarians make demands for the legislation of political parties, and threaten a party with opposition at the elections, in case the required enactments are not passed, and if the political party yields to such threats, then those threats, those demands, and that action of the legitimate party, become a legitimate subject of political discussion; and the sectarians who thus interfere with the legislation of the State are alone responsible for the agitation which follows.

“And now a few words as to the action of the last legislature on this subject. After an examination of the Geghan Bill, we shall, perhaps, come to the conclusion, that, in itself, it is not of great importance. I would not undervalue the conscientious scruples, on the subject of religion, of the convict in the penitentiary, or of any unfortunate person in any State institution. But the provision of the Constitution of the State covers the whole ground. It needs no awkwardly framed statement of doubtful meaning, like the Geghan Bill, to accomplish the purpose of the organic law. The old Constitution of 1802, and the Constitution now in force of 1851, are substantially alike. Both declare (I quote Sect. 7, Art. 1, Constitution of 1851),—

“‘All men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own conscience. No person shall be compelled to attend, erect, or support any place of worship, or

maintain any form of worship, against his consent; and no preference shall be given by law to any religious society; nor shall any interference with the right of conscience be permitted.'

"If the Geghan Bill is merely a re-enactment of this part of the Bill of Rights, it is a work of supererogation, and it is not strange that the legislature did not, when it was introduced, favor its passage. The author of the bill wrote, 'The members claim that such a bill is not needed.' The same opinion prevails in New Jersey, where a similar bill is said to have been defeated by a vote of three to one. But the sectarians of Ohio were resolved on the passage of the bill. Mr. Geghan, its author, wrote to Mr. Murphy of Cincinnati: —

"We have a prior claim upon the Democratic party. The elements composing the Democratic party in Ohio to-day are made up of Irish and German Catholics, and they have always been loyal and faithful to the interests of the party. Hence the party is under obligations to us; and we have a perfect right to demand of them as a party, inasmuch as they are in control of the State legislature and State government, and were, both by our means and votes, placed where they are to-day, that they should as a party redress our grievances.'

"The organ of the friends of the bill published this letter, and, among other things, said, —

"The political party with which nine-tenths of the

Catholic voters affiliate, on account of past services that they will never forget, now controls the State. Withdraw the support which Catholics have given to it, and it will fail in this city, county, and state, as speedily as it has risen to its long-lost position and power. That party is now in power. Mr. Geghan's bill will test the sincerity of its professions.'

"That threat was effectual. The bill was passed; and the sectarian organ therefore said, —

" 'The unbroken solid vote of the Catholic citizens of the State will be given to the Democracy at the fall election.'

"In regard to those who voted against the bill, it said, 'They have dug their political grave: it will not be our fault if they do not fill it. When any of them appear again in the political arena, we will put upon them a brand that every Catholic citizen will understand.' No defence of this conduct of the last legislature has yet been attempted. The facts are beyond dispute. This is the first example of open and sectarian interference with legislation in Ohio. If the people are wise, they will give it such a rebuke in October, that, for many years at least, it will be the last.

"But it is claimed that the schools are in no danger. Now that public attention is aroused to the importance of the subject, it is probable, that, in Ohio, they are safe. But their safety depends on the rebuke which the people shall give to the party which yielded, last spring, at Columbus, to the threats of their enemies. It is said

that no political party 'desires the destruction of the schools.' In reply, no political party 'desired' the passage of the Geghan Bill; but the power which hates the schools passed the bill. The sectarian wing of the Democratic party rules that party to-day in the great commercial metropolis of the nation. It holds the balance of power in many of the large cities of the country. Without its votes, the Democratic party would lose every large city and county in Ohio, and every Northern State. In the presidential canvass of 1864, it was claimed that Gen. McClellan was as good a Union man as Abraham Lincoln, and that he was as much opposed to the Rebellion. An eminent citizen of this State replied, 'I learn from my adversaries. Who do the enemies of the Union want elected? The man they are for, I am against.' So I would say to the friends of the public schools, 'How do the enemies of universal education vote?' If the enemies of the free schools give their 'unbroken solid vote' to the Democratic ticket, the friends of the schools will make no mistake, if they vote the Republican ticket.

"The Republicans enter upon this important canvass with many advantages. Their adversaries are loaded down with the record of the last legislature. Democratic legislatures have not been fortunate in Ohio. Since the present division of parties, twenty years ago, no Democratic legislature has ever failed to bring defeat to its party. The people of Ohio have never been willing to venture upon the experiment of two

Democratic legislatures in succession. The Democratic inflation platform offends German Democrats, has driven off Liberal Republicans, and is accepted by very few old-fashioned Democrats in its true intent and meaning. The Republicans are out of power in the cities and in the State, and are everywhere taking the offensive. If Democrats assail them on account of some affair of years ago, or in a distant Southern State, or in Washington, Republicans reply by pointing to what Democrats are now doing in their own cities, or have just done in the last legislature. The materials for such report are abundant, and ready at hand. The Republicans are embarrassed by no entangling alliance with the sectarian enemies of the public schools, and they have yielded to no sectarian demands or dictation in public affairs. We rejoice to see indications of an active canvass, and a large vote at the election. Such a canvass and such a vote in Ohio never yet resulted in a Democratic victory. Our motto is, 'Honest money for all, and free schools for all.' There should be no inflation which will destroy the one, and no sectarian influence which will destroy the other."

Thus did this modest and patriotic man reason with his fellow-citizens, and open the way for the return of Republican sway. Often his speeches assumed a sarcastic and mirthful temper; and there are passages in other speeches which were more eloquent than any in the speech we have quoted; yet his usual manner

and practical methods of presenting his thoughts are therein fairly displayed.

Whatever may be the decision of rhetorical critics, and whatever may be the opinion of the admirers of flowery declamation, there is one merit his speeches contained, and that was all that he intended they should contain; viz., a power to make Republicans of Democrats, and secure the success of the principles he advo-



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cated. Such was the effect of his speeches in the canvass of 1875. He was elected governor for two years, and the Republican party thereby emboldened to adopt as a national platform the principles he so successfully advocated in Ohio.

It is profitable, in this connection, to note how the "Cincinnati Club" — through such members as Hayes, Mathews,<sup>1</sup> Force, White, Herron, Stephenson, and Gos-

<sup>1</sup> Judge Mathews's name is very often, we find, spelled with two "t's," as follows; viz., Matthews.



home — gave utterance to sentiments and prophetic declarations which afterwards became the corner-stones of national parties. Conversation with various members of that organization has recalled speeches, discussions, and essays upon national questions, and problems in political economy, which then were regarded by many hearers as ephemeral or absurd, but which have been copied and rehearsed unconsciously by many a statesman since that day. We see in the foregoing speech, and may see still more clearly in the extracts of speeches in the following chapter, how closely Gen. Hayes adhered to the principles which he expressed or approved in the exercises of that club. He was then opposed to slavery; he was then in favor of equal suffrage; he was then opposed to the states-rights doctrine; and he was then, as now, the opponent of every thing which encouraged office-holders to steal, or weakened the patriot's faith in the honor and integrity of his nation. He is no convert to his party, no meek follower of events; but long before the struggles he felt, and to which he so often refers in his speeches, had become realities, he foretold their advent, and, earnestly warning his friends, bravely prepared himself to meet them.

## CHAPTER XXV.

### EXTRACTS FROM GEN. HAYES'S SPEECHES.

Reconstruction. — Paying National Debt in Greenbacks. — Issue of Bonds. — The History of Parties. — Negro Suffrage. — The Word "White." — Equality before the Law. — Administration of State Affairs. — Dedication of Fountain. — Dedication of a Soldier's Monument, &c.

IN fulfilment of our purpose to give to the reader an impartial and comprehensive study of Gen. Hayes's character as a statesman, we now give a number of extracts from his speeches, having selected them not so much with a view to the excellence of each as to exhibit the different phases of his thought, and the influence of circumstances upon the style and material of his addresses. There may be an occasional error in a word or phrase as reported by the shorthand writers of the time; but it will be more just to the speaker and the public, and more in accord with Gen. Hayes's whole life, to take them with these slight errors, if such there should be, than to ask him to rewrite them, and incur the danger of being charged with having changed them to escape just and fair criticism. As these are, to many of us, the most important part of his history, we would

have them in their original phraseology, that we may not only see him as he is, but also as he was.

The first speech from which we quote in this connection was delivered Aug. 5, 1867, at Lebanon, O., and in which he said, —

“Gen. Jackson was, no doubt, right as to the existence of a settled purpose to break up the Union, and to establish a Southern Confederacy, as long ago as 1832. But why was there such a purpose? and on what ground did it stand?

“Great political parties, whether sectional or otherwise, do not come by accident, nor are they the invention of political intrigue. A faction born of a clique may have some strength at one or two elections; but the wisest political wire-workers cannot by ‘merely taking thought’ create a strong and permanent party. The result of the Philadelphia Convention last summer probably taught this truth to the authors of that movement. Great political movements always have some adequate cause.

“Now, on what did the conspirators who plotted the destruction of the Union and the establishment of a Southern Confederacy rely? In the first place, they taught a false construction of the National Constitution, which was miscalled state-rights, the essential part of which was, that ‘any State of the Union might secede from the Union whenever it liked.’ This doctrine was the instrument employed to destroy the unity of the nation. The fact which gave strength and energy to

those who employed this instrument was, that, in the Southern half of the Union, society, business, property, religion, and law were all based on the proposition that over four millions of our countrymen, capable of civilization and religion, were, because of their race and color, 'so far inferior, that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect.' The practice founded upon this denial of the Declaration of Independence, protected by law and sanctioned by usage, was our great national transgression, and was the cause of our great national calamity. . . .

"On the 23d of January, 1861, the Democratic party held a state convention at Columbus. Remember at that date the air was thick with threats of war from the South. The rebels were organizing and drilling; arms robbed from the national arsenals were in their hands; and the question upon all minds was, whether the Republic should perish without having a single blow struck in her defence, or whether the people of the loyal North should rise as one man, prepared to wage war until treason, and, if need be, slavery, went down together. On this question that convention was bound to speak. Silence was impossible. There were present war Democrats and peace Democrats, followers of Jackson, and followers of Calhoun. There was a determined and gallant struggle on the part of the war Democrats; but the superior numbers, or, more probably, the superior tactics and strategy, of the peace men, triumphed.

“The present candidate of the Democratic party for governor of Ohio, Judge Thurman, — a gentleman of character and ability, a distinguished lawyer and judge, and a politician of long experience, — succeeded in passing through the convention this resolution: —

“ ‘*Resolved*, That the two hundred thousand Democrats of Ohio send to the people of the United States, both North and South, greeting; and when the people of the North shall have fulfilled their duties to the Constitution and to the South, then, and not until then, will it be proper for them to take into consideration the question of the right and propriety of coercion.’

“In support of this famous resolution, Judge Thurman addressed the convention, and, among other things, is reported to have said, —

“ ‘A man is deficient in understanding, who thinks the cause of disunion is that the South apprehended any overt act of oppression in Lincoln’s administration. It is the spirit of the late presidential contest that alarms the South. . . .

“ ‘*It would try the ethics of any man to deny that some of the Southern States have no cause for revolution. Then you must be sure you are able to coerce before you begin the work. The South are a brave people. The Southern States cannot be held by force. The blacks won’t fight for the invaders. . . . The Hungarians had less cause of complaint against Austria than the South had against the North.*

“When we reflect on what the rebels had done, and

what they were doing when this resolution was passed, it seems incredible that some men having a spark of patriotism could for one moment have tolerated its sentiments. The rebels had already deprived the United States of its jurisdiction and property in about one-fourth of its inhabited territory, and were rapidly extending their insurrection so as to include within the rebel lines all the slave States. The lives and property of Union citizens in the insurgent States were at the mercy of traitors; and the national flag was everywhere torn down, and shameful indignities and outrages heaped upon all who honored it.

“This resolution speaks of fulfilling the duties of the people of the North to the South. The first and highest duty of the people of the North—to themselves, to the South, to their country, and to God—was to crush the rebellion. All speeches and resolutions against either the right or the propriety of coercion merely gave encouragement—‘moral aid and comfort,’ more important than powder and ball—to the enemies of the nation. . . .

“Now came the work of reconstruction. The leaders of the peace Democracy, who had failed in every measure, in every plan, in every opinion, and in every prediction relating to the war, were promptly on hand, with unblushing cheek were prepared to take exclusive charge of the whole business of re-organization and reconstruction. They had a plan all prepared,—a plan easily understood, easily executed, and which,

they averred, would be satisfactory to all parties. Their plan was in perfect harmony with the conduct and history of its authors and friends during the war. They had been in very close sympathy with the men engaged in the Rebellion; while their sympathy for loyal white people at the South was not strong, and they were bitterly hostile to loyal colored people both North and South. Their plan was consistent with all this.

“According to it, the rebels were to be treated in the same manner as if they remained loyal. All laws, State and National, all orders and regulations of the military, naval, and other departments of the government, creating disabilities on account of participation in the Rebellion, were to be repealed, revoked, or abolished. The rebellious States were to be represented in Congress by the rebels, without hinderance from any test oath. All appointments in the army, in the navy, and in the civil service, were to be made from men who were rebels, on the same terms as from men who were loyal. The people and governments in the rebellious States were to be subjected to no other interference or control from the military or other departments of the General Government than exists in the States which remain loyal. Loyal white men and loyal colored men were to be protected alone in those States by State laws executed by State authorities, as if they were in the loyal States.

“There were to be no amendments to the Constitu-

tion, not even an amendment abolishing slavery: in short, the Great Rebellion was to be ignored or forgotten, or, in the words of one of their orators, 'to be generously forgiven.' The war, whose burdens, cost, and carnage they have been so fond of exaggerating, suddenly sank into what the Rev. Petroleum V. Nasby calls, 'The late unpleasantness,' for which nobody but the abolitionists were to blame. Under this plan, the States could soon re-establish slavery where it had been disturbed by the war. Jefferson Davis, Toombs, Slidell, and Mason could be re-elected to their old places in the senate of the United States; Lee could be re-appointed in the army; and Semmes and Maury could be restored to the navy. Of course, this plan of the peace Democracy was acceptable to the rebels of the South; but the loyal people, who, under the name of the Union party, fought successfully through the war of the Rebellion, objected to this plan as wrong in principle, wrong in its details, and fatally wrong as an example for the future. It treats treason as no crime, and loyalty as no virtue. It contains no guaranties, irrevisable or otherwise, against another rebellion by the same parties and on the same grounds. It restores to political honor and power in the government of the nation men who have spent the best part of their lives in plotting the overthrow of that government, and who, for more than four years, levied public war against the United States. It allows Union men in the South, who have risked all, and many of whom



have lost all but life, in upholding the Union cause, to be excluded from every office, State and National, and, in many instances, to be banished from the States they so faithfully labored to save. It abandons the four millions of colored people to such treatment as the ruffian class of the South, educated in the barbarism of slavery and the atrocities of the Rebellion, may choose to give them. It leaves the obligations of the Nation to her creditors, and to the maimed soldiers, and to the widows and orphans of the war, to be fulfilled by men who hate the cause in which these obligations were incurred. It claims to be a plan which restores the Union without requiring conditions; but, in conceding to the conquered rebels the repeal of laws important to the nation's welfare, it grants conditions which they demand, while it denies to the loyal victors conditions which they deem of priceless value. . . . Enough has been given to show how completely and how exactly the reconstruction acts have met the evil to be remedied in the South. My friend Mr. Hassaurek, in his admirable speech at Columbus, did not estimate too highly the fruits of these labors. Said he, —

““ And, sir, this remedy at once effected the desired cure. The poor contraband is no longer the persecuted outlaw, whom incensed rebels might kick and kill with impunity; but he at once becomes our colored fellow-citizen, in whose well-being his former master takes the liveliest interest. Thus, by bringing the negro under

the American system, we have completed his emancipation. He has ceased to be property. From an outcast, he has been transformed into a human being, invested with the great national attribute of self-protection; and the re-establishment of peace and order and security, the revival of business and trade, and the restoration of the Southern States on the basis of loyalty and equal justice to all, will be the happy results of this astonishing metamorphosis, provided the party which had inaugurated this policy remains in power to carry it out.'

"The peace Democracy generally throughout the North opposed this measure. In Ohio they opposed it especially, because it commits the people of the nation in favor of manhood suffrage. They tell us, that if it is wise and just to intrust the ballot to colored men in the District of Columbia, in the Territories, and in the rebel States, it is also just and wise that they should have it in Ohio, and in the other States of the North.

"Union men do not question this reasoning. But, if it is urged as an objection to the plan of Congress, we reply, There are now within the limits of the United States about five millions of colored people: they are not aliens or strangers; they are here, not by the choice of themselves or of their ancestors; they are here by the misfortune of their fathers and the crime of ours. Their labor, privations, and sufferings, unpaid and unrequited, have cleared and redeemed one-third of the inhabited territory of the Union. Their toil has added

to the resources and wealth of the nation untold millions. Whether we prefer it or not, they are our countrymen, and will remain so forever.

“ They are more than countrymen : they are citizens. Free colored men were citizens of the colonies. The Constitution of the United States, formed by our fathers, created no disabilities on account of color. By the acts of our fathers and of ourselves, they bear equally the burdens, and are required to discharge the highest duty, of citizens. They are compelled to pay taxes and to bear arms. They fought side by side with their white countrymen in the great struggle of Independence and in the recent war for the Union. In the Revolutionary contest, the colored men bore an honorable part, from the Boston Massacre, in 1770, to the surrender of Cornwallis, in 1781. Bancroft says, ‘ Their names may be read on the pension-rolls of the country, side by side with those of other soldiers of the Revolution.’ In the war of 1812 Gen. Jackson issued an order complimenting the colored men of his army engaged in the defence of New Orleans. I need not speak of their number, or of their services, in the war of the Rebellion. The nation enrolled and accepted them among her defenders, to the number of about two hundred thousand ; and in the new regular Army Act, passed at the close of the Rebellion by the votes of Democrats and Union men alike, in the Senate and in the House, and by the assent of the president, regiments of colored men, cavalry and infantry, formed part of the standing army of the Republic.

“In the navy, colored American soldiers have fought side by side with white men, from the days of Paul Jones to the victory of the ‘Kearsarge’ over the rebel pirate ‘Alabama.’ Colored men will in the future, as in the past, in all times of national peril, be our fellow-soldiers. Taxpayers, countrymen, fellow-citizens, and fellow-soldiers, the colored men of America have been and will be. It is now too late for the adversaries of nationality and human rights to undertake to deprive these taxpayers, freemen, citizens, and soldiers of the right to vote.

“Slaves were never voters. It was bad enough that our fathers, for the sake of union, were compelled to allow masters to reckon three-fifths of their slaves for representation, without adding slave-suffrage to the other privileges of the slaveholder. The free colored men were always voters in many of the colonies, and in several of the States, North and South, after independence was achieved. They voted for members of the Congress which declared independence, and for members of every Congress prior to the adoption of the Federal Constitution, for the members of the convention which framed the Constitution, for the members of many of the State conventions which ratified it, and for every president from Washington to Lincoln.

“Our government has been called the white man’s government. Not so. It is not the government of any class, or sect, or nationality, or race. It is a government founded on the consent of the governed; and Mr.

Broomall of Pennsylvania, therefore properly calls it 'the government of the governed.' It is not the government of the native-born or of the foreign-born, of the rich man or of the poor man, of the white man or of the colored man: it is the government of the freeman; and when colored men were made citizens, soldiers, and freemen by our consent and votes, we were estopped from denying to them the right of suffrage. . . .

"The plain and monstrous inconsistency and injustice of excluding one-seventh of our population from all participation in a government founded on the consent of the governed, in this land of free discussion, is simply impossible. No such absurdity and wrong can be permanent. Impartial suffrage will carry the day. No low prejudice will long be able to induce American citizens to deny to a weak people their best means of self-protection, for the unmanly reason that they are weak. Chief Justice Chase expressed the true sentiment when he said, 'The American nation cannot afford to do the smallest injustice to the humblest and feeblest of her children.'

"Much has been said of the antagonism which exists between the different races of men; but difference of religion, difference of nationality, difference of language, and difference of rank and privileges, are quite as fruitful causes of antagonism and war as difference of race. The bitter strifes between Christians and Jews, between Catholics and Protestants, between Englishmen and

Irishmen, between aristocracy and the masses, are only too familiar. Under the partial and unjust laws of the nations of the whole world, men of one nationality were allowed to oppress those of another. Men of one faith had rights which were denied to men of a different faith. Men of one rank, or caste, enjoyed special privileges which were not granted to men of another. Under these systems, peace was impossible, and strife perpetual; but, under just and equal laws in the United States, Jews, Protestants, and Catholics, Englishmen and Irishmen, the former aristocrat, and the masses of the people, dwell and mingle harmoniously together. The uniform lesson of history is, that unjust and partial laws increase and create antagonism of conduct; while justice and equality are the sure foundation of prosperity and peace.

“ Impartial suffrage secures, also, popular education. Nothing has given the careful observer of events in the South more gratification than the progress which is there going on in the establishment of schools. The colored people, who as slaves were debarred from education, regard the right to learn as one of the highest privileges of freemen. The ballot gives them the power to secure that privilege. All parties and all public men in the South agree, that, if the colored men vote, ample provisions must be made in the re-organization of every State for free schools. The ignorance of the masses, whites as well as blacks, is one of the most discouraging features of Southern society. If congres-

sional reconstruction succeeds, there will be free schools for all. The colored people will see that their children attend them. We need indulge in no fears that the white people will be left behind. Impartial suffrage, then, means popular intelligence: it means progress, it means loyalty, it means harmony between the North and South, and between the whites and the colored people. . . .

“Ever since armed rebellion failed, a large party in the South have struggled to make participation in the Rebellion honorable, and loyalty to the Union dishonorable. The lost cause, with them, is the honored cause. In society, in business, and in politics, devotion to treason is the test of merit, the passport to preferment. They wish to return to the old state of things, — *an oligarchy of race and the sovereignty of states.*

“To defeat this purpose, to secure the rights of man, and to perpetuate a national union, are the objects of the congressional plan of reconstruction. That plan has the hearty support of the great generals, so far as their opinions are known, — of Grant, of Thomas, of Sheridan, of Howard, — who led the armies of the Union which conquered the Rebellion. The statesmen most trusted by Mr. Lincoln, and by the loyal people of the country during the war, also support it. The Supreme Court of the United States, upon formal application, and after solemn argument, refused to interfere with its execution. The loyal presses of the country, which did so much in the time of need to uphold the patriot cause, without exception, are in favor of the plan.

“In the South, as we have seen, the lessons of the war, and the events occurring since the war, have made converts of thousands of the bravest and of the ablest of those who opposed the national cause. Gen. Longstreet, a soldier second to no living corps commander of the rebel army, calls it a ‘peace offering,’ and advises the South, in good faith, to organize under it. Unrepentant rebels and unconverted peace Democrats opposed it, just as they opposed the measures which destroyed slavery, and saved the nation.

“Opposition to whatever the nation approves seems to be the policy of the representative men of the peace Democracy. Defeat and failure comprise their whole political history. In laboring to overthrow reconstruction, they are probably destined to further defeat and further failure. I know not how it may be in other States; but, if I am not greatly mistaken as to the mind of the loyal people of Ohio, they mean to trust power in the hands of no man, who, during the awful struggle for the nation’s life, proved unfaithful to the cause of liberty and union. They will continue to exclude from the administration of the government those who prominently opposed the war, until every question arising out of the Rebellion, relating to the integrity of the nation and to human rights, shall have been firmly settled on the basis of impartial justice.

“They mean that the State of Ohio in this great progress — ‘whose leading object is to elevate the condition of men, to lift artificial weights from all shoul-



ders, to afford all an unfettered start and a fair chance in the race of life' — shall tread no step backward.

“Permeated and sustained by a conviction, that, in this contest, the Union party of Ohio is doing battle for the right, I enter upon my part of the labors of the canvass with undoubting confidence that the goodness of the cause will make up for the weakness of its advocacy.”

The following reference to the financial question is found in a speech delivered by Gen. Hayes at Batavia, O., Aug. 20, 1867 : —

“Mr. Pendleton seems desirous to occupy a position about midway between the boundless expansion of Vallandigham and the anti-rag doctrine of Judge Thurman. He says, ‘The five-twenties should be paid in greenbacks as they mature, *or as fast as can be done, without too great derangement of the currency.*’

“It is enough for my present purpose to say, that when Judge Thurman and the peace Democracy, in State convention or otherwise, can agree upon the best mode of paying the national debt, the Union party will be glad of their assistance in the support of any plan by which it can be honestly done ‘without,’ in the words of Mr. Pendleton, ‘too great derangement of the currency.’

“Judge Ranney and Judge Jewett both complain that the Johnson administration is now engaged in

taking up greenbacks by issuing in their stead interest-bearing bonds. I heartily concur with them in opposing that policy. As a member of the house, I voted against it a great many times in the Thirty-ninth Congress; and I regret that their party friends in that Congress did not entertain the same opinion, and vote as I did. 'The Cincinnati Enquirer' of a recent date contained this paragraph, —

“ ‘ While the bonded debt has only been diminished a little over four millions of dollars from the 1st of June to the 1st of August, the secretary of the treasury has reduced the circulating medium twenty millions of dollars within that time. The aim of the secretary is to call in the greenbacks, and every other government issue upon which the people are not charged interest, while he allows all the interest-bearing debt to remain. It would not do, he thinks, to save the people the immense sums of money they are now paying as interest upon the debt.’ ”

“ Now, under what law is Secretary McCullough doing this? Judges Jewett and Ranney talk as if it was the work of the Union party. Not at all. If those gentlemen had examined the proceedings of Congress, as given in the 'Congressional Globe,' they would have learned that the law which authorizes this to be done is one of the pet measures of the Johnson administration; that it was voted for by every Democratic member of Congress in both houses who voted on the question; that a majority of the Union members

of the House voted against it; and that the bill would have failed, if a majority of the Democratic members had opposed it. The votes will be found in the Proceedings of the sixteenth and twenty-third days of March, 1866. The Democratic representatives from Ohio, Messrs. Finck and Le Blond, voted for the bill; and all the Union members of the House from Ohio, except three, voted against it. Senators Sherman and Wade both voted for it. The President approved the bill. The policy which these gentlemen condemn is therefore proved by the record not to be the policy of the Union party. If any party is responsible for it as a party measure, it is the Johnson party, to which the Democracy belonged in 1866."

In his address at Sidney, O., Sept. 4, 1867, in reply to Judge Thurman, Gen. Hayes said,—

"Judge Ranney and Judge Jewett are telling the people that it is the policy of Sec. McCullough to take up the greenback currency, and issue in its stead interest-bearing bonds not taxable, principal and interest both payable in coin at the option of the secretary. It is true. That was and is the policy of Sec. McCullough. But they go further, and say they are authorized to say that this is the policy of the Union party. I take issue with them on that statement. They offer no proof that it is true, except the fact that it is the policy of the Johnson administration; and I submit to an intelligent audience, that the fact that Johnson and his administration are in favor of a measure is no evidence

whatever that the Union party supports it. It is not for me to prove the negative; but I am prepared, nevertheless, to prove it. The very measure which was intended to carry out this policy of Sec. McCullough, to enable him to take up the greenback currency with interest-bearing bonds, was introduced in Congress in March, 1866. I have here the votes upon that question; and I say to you that the Democratic party in both Houses, all the members of the Democratic party in both Houses, voted for Sec. McCullough's plan; and that Mr. Julian, Judge Schofield, Mr. Lawrence (all of whom I see here), and myself, a majority of the Republican members of Congress, voted against the scheme; and it became a law, because a minority of the Union party, with the unanimous vote of the Democratic party, supported it, and because, when it was submitted to Andrew Johnson, instead of vetoing it, as he did all Union party measures, he wrote his name, on the 12th of April, at the bottom of it, 'Approved: Andrew Johnson.' Now, it is under that measure, and by virtue of that law, voted for by Mr. Fick and Mr. Le Blond of the Democratic party of Ohio, in the House of Representatives,—it is by virtue of that law that to-day Sec. McCullough is issuing interest-bearing bonds, not taxable, to take up the greenback currency of this country. I think, then, I am authorized in saying that these gentlemen are mistaken, when they accuse the Union party of being in favor of taking up the greenback currency, and putting

in the place of it interest-bearing and untaxable bonds."

Upon the question of reconstruction, Gen. Hayes said, —

"Gen. Grant, in one paragraph of his letter to the president, said to him, —

"'Gen. Sheridan has performed the civil duties faithfully and intelligently. His removal will only be regarded as an effort to defeat the laws of Congress. It will be interpreted by the unreconstructed element in the South, — those who did all they could to break up this government by arms, and now wish to be the only element consulted as to the method of restoring order — as a triumph. It will embolden them to renewed opposition to the will of the loyal masses, believing that they have the Executive approbation.'

"This presents exactly the question before the people. We want the loyal people of the country, the victors in the great struggle we have passed through, to do the work. We want reconstruction upon such principles, and by means of such measures, that the causes which made reconstruction necessary shall not exist in the reconstructed Union. We want that foolish notion of state-rights, which teaches that the state is superior to the nation, that there is a state sovereignty which commands the allegiance of every citizen, higher than the sovereignty of the nation, — we want that notion left out of the reconstructed Union. We want it understood, that whatever doubts may have existed

prior to the war, as to the relation of the State to the National Government, that now the National Government is supreme, any thing in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding. Again: as one of the causes of the Rebellion, we want slavery left out, not merely in name, but in fact, forever. We want the last vestige, the last of that institution, rooted out of the laws and institutions of every State. We want that in the South there shall be no more suppression of free discussion. I notice, that, in the long speech of my friend Judge Thurman, he says, that for nearly fifty years, throughout the length and breadth of the land, freedom of speech and of the press was never interfered with, either by the government or the people. For more than thirty years, fellow-citizens, there has been no such thing as free discussion in the South. Those moderate speeches of Abraham Lincoln on the subject of slavery — not one of them could have been delivered, without endangering his life, south of Mason and Dixon's Line. We want in the reconstructed Union that there shall be the same freedom of the press and freedom of speech in the States of the South that there always has been in the States of the North. Again: we want a reconstructed Union upon such principles, that the men of the South, who, during the war, were loyal, and true to the President, shall be protected in life, liberty, and property, and in the exercise of their political rights. It becomes the solemn duty of the loyal victors to see that the men, who, in the midst of

difficulties, discouragements, and dangers in the South, were true, are protected in these rights; and in order that our reconstruction shall be carried out faithfully, and accomplish these objects, we further want that the work shall be in the hands of the right men. Andrew Johnson, in the days when he was loyal, said the work of reconstruction ought to be placed absolutely in the hands of the loyal men of the State; that rebels, and particularly leading rebels, ought not to participate in that work; that, while that work is going on, they must take back-seats. We want that understood in our work of reconstruction. How important it is to have the right men in charge of this work appears upon the most cursory examination of what has already been done. Pres. Lincoln administered the same laws substantially, was sworn to support the same Constitution, with Andrew Johnson; yet how different the reconstruction as carried out by these two men! Lincoln's reconstruction in all the States which he undertook to re-organize gave to those States loyal governors, loyal legislators, judges, and officers of the law. Andrew Johnson, administering the same Constitution and the same laws, reconstructs a number of States; and, in all of them, leading rebels are elected governors, leading rebels are members of the legislature, and leading rebels are sent to Congress. It makes, then, the greatest difference to the people of this country who it is that does the work."

In the same speech Gen. Hayes said, —

“Judge Thurman says that Gen. Hayes, in his speech, has a great many slips cut from the newspapers, and that he must have had some sewing-society of old ladies to cut out the slips for him. I don't know how he found that out. I never told him; and you know the ladies never tell secrets that are confided to them. I hold in my hand a speech of Judge Thurman, from which I have read extracts; and I find that he has in it slips cut from more than twenty different prints, sermons, newspapers, old speeches, and pamphlets, to show how, in the war of 1812, certain Federalists uttered unpatriotic sentiments. I presume he must have acquired his slips on that day in the way he says I acquired mine now.

“Now, my friends, I propose to hold Judge Thurman to no severe rule of accountability for his conduct during the war. I merely ask that it be judged by his own rule: ‘Your country is engaged in war; and it is the duty of every citizen to say nothing, and do nothing, which shall depress the spirits of his own countrymen: nothing shall encourage the enemies of his country, or give them moral aid or comfort.’ That is the rule. Now, Judge Thurman, how does your conduct square with it? I do not propose to begin at the beginning of the war, or even just before the war, to cite the record of Judge Thurman. I am willing to say, that perhaps men might have been mistaken at that time. They might have supposed, in the beginning, a conciliatory policy, or non-coercive policy, would, in some way, avoid



the threatened struggle ; but I ask you to approach the period when the war was going on, when armies to the number of hundreds of thousands of men were ready on one side and the other, and when the whole world knew what was the nature of the great struggle going on in America. Taking the beginning of 1863, how stands the conflict? We had pressed the Rebellion out of Kentucky, and through Tennessee. Grant stands before Vicksburg, held at bay by the army of Pemberton. Rosecrans, after the capture of Nashville, has pressed forward to Murfreesborough, but is still held out of East Tennessee by the army of Bragg.

“The Army of the Potomac and the army of Lee in Virginia are balanced, the one against the other. The whole world knows that that exhausting struggle cannot last long without deciding in favor of one side or the other. That the year 1863 is big with the fate of union and of liberty every intelligent man in the world knows ; that on one side it is a struggle for nationality and human rights. There is not in all Europe a petty despot who lives by grinding the masses of the people, who does not know that Lincoln and the Union army are his enemies. There is not a friend of freedom in all Europe, who does not know that Lincoln and the loyal army are fighting in the cause of free government for all the world. Now, in that contest, where are you, Judge Thurman? It is a time when we need men and money, when we need to have our people inspired with hope and confidence. Your sons and brothers are in

the field. Their success depends upon your conduct at home. The men who are to advise you what to do have upon them a dreadful responsibility to give you wise and patriotic advice. Judge Thurman, in the speech I am quoting from, says, —

“‘But now, my friends, I shall not deal with obscure newspapers or obscure men. What a private citizen like Allan G. Thurman may have said in 1861 is a matter of indifference.’

“Ah, no, Judge Thurman! the Union party does not propose to allow your record to go without investigation, because you are a private citizen. I know you held no official position under the government at the time I speak of; but, sir, you had for years been a leading, able, and influential man in the great party which had often carried your State. You were acting under grave responsibilities. More than that, during that year 1863, you were more than a private citizen. You were one of the delegates to the state convention of that year. You were one of the committee that formed your party platform in that convention. You were one of the central committee that carried on the canvass in the absence of your standard-bearers; and you were one of the orators of the party. No, sir, you were not a private citizen in 1863. You were one of the leading, and one of the ablest, men in your party in that year, speaking through the months of July, August, September, and October in behalf of the candidate of the peace party.

“Well, sir, in the beginning of that eventful year, there arises in Congress the ablest member of the peace party to advise Congress and to advise the people; and what does he say?—

“‘You have not conquered the South: you never will. It is not in the nature of things possible, especially under your auspices. Money you have expended without limit; blood you have poured out like water.’

“Now mark the taunt, the words of discouragement that were sent to the people and to the army of the Union:—

“‘Defeat, debt, taxation, sepulchres: these are your trophies. Can you get men to enlist now at any price?’

“Listen again to the words that were sent to the army and to the loyal people:—

“‘Ah, sir, it is easier to die at home.’

“We knew that, Judge Thurman, better than Mr. Vallandigham knew it. We had seen our comrades falling and dying alone on the mountain-sides and in the swamp,—dying in the prison-pens of the Confederacy, and in the crowded hospitals North and South. Yet he had the face to stand up in Congress, and say to the people and the world, ‘Ah, sir, it is easier to die at home.’ Judge Thurman, where are you at this time? He goes to Columbus, to the State conventions on the 11th of June of that year, in all the capacities in which I have named him,—as a delegate, as committee-man, and as an orator; and he spends that whole

summer in advocating the election of the man who taunted us with the words, 'Defeat, death, taxation, sepulchres: these are your trophies.'

"But wisdom was not learned, even at the close of 1863, by this peace party. Things were greatly changed in the estimation of every loyal man. We had now not merely got possession of the Mississippi River, we had not merely driven the army of Lee out of Pennsylvania, never again to return; but the battle of Mission Ridge and the battle of Knoxville had been fought. That important strategic region, East Tennessee, was now within our lines. From that abode of loyalty, the mountain region of East Tennessee, we could pierce to the very heart of the Southern Confederacy. We were now in possession of the interior lines, giving us an immense advantage, and we were in a condition to march south-east to Atlanta, and north-east to Richmond; yet, with this changed state of affairs, where is my friend Judge Thurman? Advising the people? What is he advising them to do? He says Allan G. Thurman was a private citizen. Not so. He held no official position, I know, under the government. Fortunately for the people of this country, they were not giving official positions in Ohio to men of his opinions and sentiments at that time.

"But he was made delegate at large from the State of Ohio to the convention to meet at Chicago, to nominate a president, and form a platform on which that nominee should stand. Mr. Vallandigham was a dis-

trict delegate, and one of the committee to form a platform; and he drew the most important resolution. The principal plank of that platform is of his construction. You are perfectly familiar with it. It merely told the people that the war had been for four years a failure, and advised them to prepare to negotiate with this confederate nation on our southern borders. Well, when this advice was given to the nation, we were still in the midst of the war, and were prosecuting it with every prospect of success. What had been accomplished in 1863 enabled us with great advantage to press upon the Rebellion. I remember well when I first read that resolution, declaring the war a four-years' failure. It came to the army in which I was serving, on the same day that the news came to us that Sherman had captured Atlanta. We heard of both together. 'The war a four-years' failure,' said the Chicago Convention. I remember how, that evening, our pickets shouted the good news to the pickets of the enemy. What good news?—news that a convention, representing nearly one-half of the people of the North, had concluded that the war was a failure? No such news was shouted from our picket-line. The good news that was shouted was, that Sherman had captured Atlanta. . . .

"It is not worth while to consider, or undertake to predict, when we shall cease to talk of the records of those men. It does seem to me that it will, for many years to come, be the voice of the Union people of the

State, that for a man whom as a leader, as a man having control in political affairs, — that for such a man, who has opposed the interests of his country during the war, ‘the post of honor is the private station.’ When shall we stop talking about it? When ought we to stop talking about that record, when leading men come before the people? Certainly not until every question arising out of the Rebellion, and every question which is akin to the questions which made the Rebellion, is settled. Perhaps these men will be remembered long after these questions are settled: perhaps their conduct will long be remembered. What was the result of this advice to the people? It prolonged the war: it made it impossible to get recruits: it made it necessary that we should have drafts. They opposed the drafts; and that made rioting, which required that troops should be called from all the armies in the field to preserve the peace at home. From forty to a hundred thousand men in the different States of this Union were kept within the loyal States, to preserve the peace at home. And now, when they talk to you about the debt, and about the burden of taxation, remember how it happened that the war was so prolonged, that it was so extensive, and that the debt grew to such large proportions.

“There are other things, too, to be remembered. I recollect, that, at the close of the last session of Congress, I went over to Arlington, the estate formerly of Robert E. Lee, and I saw there the great national ceme-

tery into which that beautiful place had been converted. I saw the graves of eighteen thousand Union soldiers, marked with white headboards, denoting the name of each occupant, and his regiment and company. Passing over those broad acres covered with the graves of the loyal men who had died in defence of their country, I came upon that which was even more touching than these eighteen thousand headboards. I found a large granite with this inscription upon it : —

“ ‘ Beneath this stone repose the remains of two thousand one hundred and eleven unknown soldiers, gathered after the war from the field of Bull Run and the route to the Rappahanock. Their remains could not be identified ; but their names and deaths are recorded in the archives of their country, and its grateful citizens honor them as of the noble army of martyrs. May they rest in peace ! September, 1866.’ ”

“ I say to these men who were instrumental and prominent in prolonging the war by opposing it, that, when honeyed words and soft phrases can erase from the enduring granite inscriptions like these, the American people may forget their conduct ; but I believe they will not do so until some such miracle is accomplished.”

In regard to negro suffrage he said, —

“ It gives the right of suffrage to all the negroes of Ohio. Mark the phrase. I have not said impartial

suffrage or manhood suffrage. I wish to be understood. It gives the suffrage to the negroes of Ohio upon the same terms that it is given to white men. The reason I am in favor of that is, because it is right.

“Let me have the ears of my Democratic friends on that question a moment. If democracy has any meaning now that is good, any favorable meaning, it is that democracy is a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. It is a government in which every man who has to obey the laws has a part in making the laws, unless disqualified by crime. Then the proposition I am for is a democratic proposition. Again: it is according to the principle upon which good men have always desired to see our institutions placed; viz., that all men are entitled to equal rights before the law. They are not equal in any other respect. Nobody claims that they are. But we propose to give to each man the same rights which you want for yourselves. It is, in short, obeying the rule of the great Teacher, ‘Do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you.’ Abraham Lincoln said, ‘No man is good enough to govern another without that other man’s consent.’ Is not that true? Good as you think you are, are you good enough absolutely to govern another man without that other man’s consent? If you really think so, just change shoes with that other man, and see if you are willing to be governed yourself, without your consent, by somebody else. The Declaration of Independence says governments derive their just powers



from the consent of the governed. Now, don't you see there is no way by which one man can give his consent to be governed by another man in a republican government, except by the ballot? There is no way provided by which you can consent to give powers to a government, except by the ballot. Therefore every man governed under our system is entitled to the ballot. . . .

"I commend to you Union men, who are a little weak on this question, or perhaps I should say a little strong, the example of the Union men of the country during the war. Abraham Lincoln thought, in 1862, it was wise to proclaim freedom to the slaves. Many good Union men thought it was unwise, thought Mr. Lincoln was going too far or too fast; but the sequel justified the wisdom of Abraham Lincoln. Again: he thought it was wise that colored men should be placed in our armies. There were good soldiers, and good Union men, who thought it was unwise; they feared that Mr. Lincoln was going too fast or too far: but events justified it. Now everybody agrees, that, in both cases, Abraham Lincoln was right. Now, the example I commend to our Union friends who are doubting on this great question is the example of those Union men during the war who doubted the wisdom of these other measures. Greatly as they were opposed to the proclamation of Abraham Lincoln, strongly as they were opposed to the enlistment of colored soldiers, I say to you I never heard of one good Union man, in the army or out of it, who left his party because

of that difference with Mr. Lincoln. I commend that example to the Union men who now doubt about colored suffrage. The truth is, that every step made in advance toward the standard of the right has, in the event, always proved a safe and wise step. Every step toward the right has proved a step toward the expedient: in short, that in politics, in morals, in public and private life, the right is always expedient."

In his speech delivered in Cincinnati, Oct. 5, 1867, he gave some attention to the local division in the Republican party in the Second Congressional District. He said, —

"I do not want to be misunderstood in regard to this subject. I want to deal with entire fairness and candor with my Union friends, and to give them my opinions fully and fairly. As to this contest between Mr. C—— and Mr. S—— for Congress, I have not the slightest personal feeling in regard to it. I propose to say nothing that can be regarded as of a personal nature. I merely wish to call your attention to the state of the case as it will appear to the voters on the morning of next Tuesday. I say nothing of the primary meetings; I say nothing of the convention; I say nothing of the personal grievances; I say nothing of the wrongs to be redressed, admit that to be this way or that way: I appeal to perfectly well known facts which nobody disputes. What are they? Mr. S.

is the candidate of the Union organization, sustained by the great body of the Union people, and I think generally by the Union press. Mr. C., his adversary, derives his main support from the organization of the Democratic party of the district. He is mainly supported by the leading hostile press, 'The Cincinnati Enquirer.' The main body of voters who will vote for him are of that party. Now, my friends, consider this. I don't know what facts have been presented to the leaders of the Democratic party; I don't know what argument has been made to them; I do not know that any pledge, or any argument, has been presented: but I see the fact that these shrewd leaders have concluded it is for the benefit of their party, and the injury of ours, to vote for Mr. C. That is one fact, nay, more: they see it is more to their advantage to elect Mr. C. than it is to vote for a straight-out Democrat. Now, Mr. C. is trying to get the votes of his Union friends in this district. I am saying not one word against him; but this is true, that either the great body of his supporters, the Democrats, or the Union men who vote for him, one or the other, are to be deceived: that is plain. Now, my friends, I wish to suggest this to you. One of the ablest men of this city said in 1864, 'I always learn from my adversaries. Lincoln is for the war; and McClellan says he is for the war. Now, which shall we go for? I say to you, fellow-citizens, inquire who Jeff. Davis wants elected, and the patriot can then tell whom he does not want elected.'

“Now, when you see the ‘Cincinnati Enquirer,’ and Mr. Vallandigham, and Andrew Johnson, all in favor of a man, be sure it is not for the interest of the Union party to support that man.

“Fellow-citizens, I do not wish to offend anybody, — I want all their votes, — but I must tell the truth, and be honest with these people, or I do not deserve their votes. Now, on the night of next Tuesday there is to be a victory. Somebody is to have a victory. I ask of my Union friends, Do you want to see the office of ‘The Cincinnati Enquirer’ illuminated for a victory? If you do, you know whom you can vote for.

“If you want Mr. Vallandigham, when he hears the news from the Second District, to clap his hands, and throw up his hat, you know how to vote to give him that occasion for rejoicing. If you want, that when the news of the election in this district reaches the White House, and Andrew Johnson hears it, there shall be a revel and a jubilee, — not exactly a cold-water jubilee either, — you know how to vote to bring that result about.

“My friends, whatever grievances there are, see to it that you do not give a victory to the men, who, during this great struggle, were against us; who during the war, like Vallandigham and ‘The Enquirer,’ were fighting us at every step.

“Make no such mistakes as that. Make no mistakes which shall make glad the heart of the traitor who fills the White House. The truth is, that, in the presence

of the great issue that is now before the country, every man is under a solemn duty to see, if possible, that he makes no mistake. Andrew Johnson is prepared, if he believes the country sustains him, to make war upon the loyal Congress. On the other hand, if he thinks the country will not sustain him, we have confidence that he lacks those qualities which will enable him to make war where there is no prospect of success. It becomes the duty, then, of every Union man to see that he introduces no new issue into the Union party; that he does nothing to distract it; that he does nothing to create discord, but every thing to strengthen and unite the party upon which depends the safety, the interest, and the glory of the country. With our duty performed in this regard, no consequence can harm us."

In his speech before the Ohio State Republican Convention (June 23, 1869), accepting the nomination for governor, Hayes mentioned the Democratic State legislature of the previous year, and went on to say, that "the last legislature afforded examples of many of the worst evils to which legislative bodies are liable, — long sessions, excessive legislation, unnecessary expenditures, and recklessness in authorizing local debts and local taxes. These evils 'have increased, are increasing, and ought to be diminished.' Let there be reform as to all of them. Especially let the people of all parties insist that the parent evil — long legislative sessions — shall be reformed altogether. Let the bad

precedent of long sessions set by the last legislature be condemned, and the practice of short sessions established. With the average rate of taxation in the cities and large towns of the State nearly three per cent, legitimate business and industry cannot continue to thrive, if the rate of taxation continues to increase. With the rates of interest for public debts ranging from seven to seven and three-tenths per cent, the reckless increase of such debts must stop, or it will seriously affect the prosperity of the State. These are subjects which deserve, and which I trust will receive, the profound attention of the people in the pending canvass.

“It is said that one of the ablest Democratic members of the last legislature declared, at its close, that ‘enough had been done to keep the Democratic party out of power in Ohio for twenty years.’ Let the Republican press and Republican speakers see to it that the history of the acts of that body be spread fully before the people, and I entertain no doubt but that the declaration will be substantially made good.

“It is probable that the discussions of the present canvass will turn more upon State legislation, and less upon national affairs, than those of any year since 1861. Neither senators nor representatives in Congress are to be chosen. But it is an important State election, and will be regarded as having a bearing upon national politics. The Republicans of Ohio heartily approve of the principles of Gen. Grant’s Inaugural Message, and are gratified by the manner in which he is dealing with

the leading questions of the first three months of his administration. . . .

“Again thanking you for the honor you have done me, I repeat, in conclusion, what I said two years ago: The people represented in this convention mean that the State of Ohio — in the great progress ‘whose leading object is to elevate the condition of men, to lift artificial weights from all shoulders, to clear the paths of laudable pursuits for all, and to afford all an unfettered start and a fair chance in the race of life’ — shall tread no more steps backward. I shall enter upon my part of the labors of the canvass, believing that the Union Republican party is battling for the right, and with undoubting confidence that the goodness of the cause will supply the weakness of its advocates, and command in the result that triumphant success which it deserves.”

Another speech made by Gen. Hayes (Oct. 10, 1869), at Mozart Hall, Cincinnati, contained the following: —

“Now, my friends, let us look at this matter of reconstruction, not to argue it, but to see what has been accomplished, and what will be the meaning of an election in Ohio, that will result in victory for Mr. Pendleton. I am not here to say to this audience that the people of the South are just as we would wish them in all respects. A people whose education com-

menced in the barbarism of slavery, and was completed in the atrocities of the Rebellion, cannot be expected, in a few years, to be like the people of Ohio, or Pennsylvania, or Indiana, or that they will regard the rights of citizens in all respects. Yet taking the essential rights of citizens, and examining what is going on in the South, we shall discover that there is a freedom of speech, a free press, and the enjoyment of the right to assemble, and discuss public questions, a free ballot, and free labor, to an extent never known nor enjoyed in the South before. Never before were there so many children in the public schools as to-day. Take the matter of labor: the crops of the South, the cotton, the sugar, the tobacco, and the corn, raised this year, are more valuable than any crops ever raised before in these States. Do not misunderstand me. I do not say more bales of cotton, or bushels of corn, but that, at present prices, the crops at the South are more valuable than ever before. Never before were the times in the South so prosperous, in many respects, as to-day.

“Now, let the result of this election say to the worst elements of those States, to the ultra men, that there is a re-action in Ohio against reconstruction, that we are prepared to change the course we have taken, to open it all up anew, and return to the unsettled condition of things that prevailed under the administration of Andrew Johnson; and what are we then to have? Years more of the lawlessness, discord, and strife that we had under Andrew Johnson. What interest of ours



is to be promoted by that? We wish the condition of the Southern people to be one of prosperity, that they may bear their share of the taxes in order to carry on the government, and pay the national debt.

“The position of Mr. Pendleton is in favor of unsettling all that has been settled; against reconstruction, and opening it all up again as unconstitutional and void. Last year, as you know, we carried the election largely on the watchword furnished us by Grant; and we stand on the same ground to-day, and say, as to all these troubles, ‘Let us have peace.’

“The significance of an adverse result in Ohio is disorder, discord, a renewal of strife in the South. It is our interest that the condition of the South should be one of universal prosperity and universal peace.

“Another right of national importance arises in considering the peculiar position of Mr. Pendleton in reference to the repudiation of the debt. My friends, there is not a repudiator, from Pomeroy’s ‘Democrat’ to the Columbus ‘Crisis’ and the Cincinnati ‘Commoner,’ that is not the earnest supporter of Pendleton’s election. Everywhere the success of Pendleton will be held by the repudiators of the country as their victory. What does the threat of repudiation cost this country? During the war, when it was doubtful whether we were able to be a nation or not, we borrowed of all the world money at six per cent.

“Now, when the ability of the nation to pay its debt is beyond all doubt, and the only question that can be

raised is as to its disposition to pay it, what ought to be the rate of interest. When England and France and the better nations of the world, including our own State, obtain loans at three and a half to four per cent, nothing is more certain than that the United States could negotiate loans for renewing the whole amount of our debt at four per cent, but for the apprehension that the debt may not be honestly paid. The fear of repudiation costs the difference in interest between four and six per cent; and that is forty millions a year on our whole debt."

In his Zanesville speech (Aug. 24, 1869), Gen. Hayes made use of these words: —

"Now, the important question presented is, whether it is safe and wise to trust these amendments, for interpretation, construction and execution, to the party which, from first to last, has fiercely opposed them. The safe rule is, if you want a law faithfully and fairly administered, intrust power only to its friends: it will rarely have a fair trial at the hands of its enemies. These amendments are no exception to this rule.

"What the country most needs, and what good citizens most desire, in regard to these great measures, is peace, repose. They wish to be able to rest confidently in the belief that they are to be enforced and obeyed. They do not want them overthrown by revolutionary violence, or defeated by fraud. They do not wish them

repealed by constitutional amendments, abrogated by judicial construction, nullified by unfriendly legislation (state or national), or left a dead letter by non-action on the part of law-makers, or executive officers. Has the time come when the country can afford to trust the Democratic party on these questions?"

In a political speech made at Glendale, O., Sept. 4, 1872, Gen. Hayes made the following strong points: —

"Fellow-citizens, my purpose in addressing you this evening is to spread before the people of the Second District my views on the questions of national policy which now engage the public attention.

"In the present condition of the country, two things are of vital importance, — peace and a sound financial policy. We want peace, honorable peace, with all nations, — peace with the Indians, and peace between all the citizens of all the States. We want a financial policy so honest, that there can be no stain on the national honor, and no taint on the national credit; so stable, that labor and capital, and legitimate business of every sort, can confidently count upon what it will be next week, the next month, and the next year. We want the burdens of taxation so justly distributed, that they will bear equally upon all classes of citizens in proportion to their ability to sustain them.

"We want our currency gradually to appreciate, until, without financial shock, or any sudden shrinkage

of values, but in the natural course of trade, it shall reach the uniform and permanent value of gold. With lasting peace assured, and a sound financial condition established, the United States and all her citizens may reasonably expect to enjoy a measure of prosperity without a parallel in the world's history.

“When the debates of the last presidential election were in progress, four years ago, there were troubles with other nations threatening the public peace; and, in particular, there was a most difficult, irritating, and dangerous controversy with Great Britain, which it seemed almost impossible peaceably to settle. Now we are at peace with all the nations; the American Government is everywhere abroad held in the highest honor; and the example of submitting national disputes to the decision of a court of arbitration has been set, which is of incalculable value to the world.

“Four years ago, frequent outbreaks of savage hostilities along a frontier of more than two thousand miles disturbed the country with the apprehension of another long, expensive, and fruitless war against the Indians. During the last three years and a half, eighty thousand Indians have been gathered upon reservations, where, by their own labor, they are self-supporting. About one hundred and thirteen thousand others have been collected at the agencies, where, — under instruction by, perhaps, fifty agents, selected by the religious denominations of the country, aided by blacksmiths, carpenters, and farmers hired by government,

—they are prepared to live peaceably on reservations. Only about fifty thousand wild and hostile Indians remain. The policy of the government is to gather them also, as rapidly as possible, upon reservations, and to compel them, by force if necessary, to abandon savage life. This policy has met with such a success, that judicious men are confident that a solution of the Indian question has been reached which is consistent with the safety of the frontiersman, and with humanity toward the Indian. Even if this hope shall not be realized, it is, nevertheless, certain that a general Indian war of three months' duration would cost more than the total expenditure on account of Indians for the last three years and a half. . . .

“There are several questions relating to the present and the future, which merit the attention of the people. Among the most interesting of these is the question of civil service reform.

“About forty years ago, a system of making appointments to office grew up, based on the maxim, ‘To the victors belong the spoils.’ The old rule, — the true rule, — that honesty, capacity, and fidelity constitute the highest claim to office, gave place to the idea that partisan services were to be chiefly considered. All parties in practice have adopted this system. Since its first introduction, it has been materially modified. At first, the president, either directly, or through the heads of departments, made all appointments. Gradually, by usage, the appointing power, in many cases,

was transferred to members of Congress, to senators and representatives. The offices, in these cases, have become not so much rewards for party services as rewards for personal services in nominating and electing senators and representatives. What patronage the president and his cabinet retain, and what offices congressmen are by usage entitled to fill, is not definitely settled. A congressman who maintains good relations with the Executive usually receives a larger share of patronage than one who is independent. The system is a bad one. It destroys the independence of the separate departments of the government; and it degrades the civil service. It ought to be abolished. . . . The work should be begun. Let the best obtainable bill be passed, and experience will show what amendments are required. I would support either Senator Trumbull's bill, or Mr. Jenks's bill, if nothing better were proposed. The admirable speeches, on this subject, of the representative of the First District, the Hon. Aaron F. Perry, contain the best exposition I have seen of sound doctrine on this question; and I trust the day is not distant when the principles which he advocates will be embodied in practical measures of legislation. We ought to have a reform of the system of appointments of the civil service, thorough, radical, and complete.

“The duties levied under our present tariff-laws were largely adopted during the war, when all home productions were burdened with heavy taxation under

the internal revenue laws. All tax-laws, whether internal revenue or tariff, were then regarded as war-measures. Now that war-expenditures are happily ended, and the internal taxes are abolished, our tariff-laws need extensive revision. In all changes of laws affecting the business of the country, a prudent legislator will move cautiously. When capital has been invested, and labor employed, in the faith of existing laws, the importance of stability is not to be overlooked. Reductions should be gradual and moderate. Violent and sweeping laws affecting the business of the country should be avoided. But where inequality has crept into the laws, it is never too early to begin to head the ship in the right direction. The tariff-laws now contain many inconsistencies and inequalities. Duties are levied which cost more to collect them than the revenue they produce. All such ought to be abolished. Some duties, now that the internal revenue taxes are repealed, amount to jobs in favor of special interests, and increase to the consumer the cost of the dutiable articles far beyond the revenue realized by the government. In some cases the duties upon the articles deemed necessities are greater than upon luxuries. On all these heads, revision and correction are demanded. Upon this subject, each representative is accustomed, more, perhaps, than any other, to regard the particular interests of his own constituents. In the needed revision of the tariff-laws it will be the special duty of the representative to see that the wishes and interests of his own constituents are fully and fairly

represented. The question is not a party question, and cannot be made one.

"The Democrats have ignored it in their national, state, and congressional platforms, and all sides they are supporting candidates for Congress without regard to their opinions on this subject.

"In the congressional debates of a very few months ago, the subject of amnesty was a great deal discussed. But the recent sweeping act of amnesty, which relieved the great mass of those who were disqualified by the Fifteenth Amendment, has deprived this question of its interest and importance. The policy of amnesty having been thus fully adopted, it should be extended to all whose only offence is participation in the Rebellion. Certain leading rebels, it is well known, are implicated in the attempts to burn hotels, steamboats, and cities, and in sending garments infected with contagious diseases into Union hospitals. They ought not to be allowed to sit again in the Senate of the United States, or to hold any office of honor or profit under the government.

"It is one of the encouraging facts of the present condition of politics that public men now enjoy and exercise great independence of opinion and action, without losing the confidence of their supporters. Indeed, the number of questions of a political and party character upon which a member of Congress is required to act is very small. The greater part of his duties relates to general or local affairs, on which parties are not



divided. A vast majority of the votes given in Congress are no longer party votes. A man may differ on important questions with the president of his choice, or support measures recommended by the president of the party he opposes, without losing influence or position. If the people of the Second District shall see fit to honor me with their support, I hope to be able, without forgetting my Republicanism, to so act on a large majority of subjects as to secure the approval of my constituents of all parties. If I should fail, it will not be from a lack of a disposition to do what is becoming in the independent representative of an intelligent constituency. . . .

“If elected a member of Congress, I shall deem it my duty to support every constitutional and proper measure calculated to give prosperity, impartial justice, and equal right to all classes of the Southern people, and to aid every just measure which will increase the means of communication between the South and the North.”

In his celebrated speech at Zanesville, O., Gen. Hayes took the ground that the new amendments to the National Constitution were not safe in the hands of the Democratic party; and in that speech he said, —

“In Indiana, the last authoritative Democratic utterance on this subject was the passage, in January last, by the Senate of that State, of the following resolution, offered by Mr. Hughes, every Democrat supporting it.”

“ ‘*Resolved*, That Congress has no lawful power derived from the Constitution of the United States, nor from any other source whatever, to require any State of the Union to ratify an amendment proposed to the Constitution of the United States as a condition precedent to representation in Congress ; that all such acts of ratification are null and void, and the votes so obtained ought not to be counted to affect the rights of the people and the States of the whole Union ; and that the State of Indiana protests and solemnly declares that the so-called Fifteenth Amendment is not, and never has been in law, a part of the Constitution of the United States.’ ”

“ It is not necessary to go to neighboring States for Democratic authorities to show how far the new departure is from modern Democracy.

“ When this question was last debated before the people of Ohio, the Democratic position on the principle of the Fifteenth Amendment, and on its constitutional validity, was declared adopted, and was thus stated.

“ Speaking of the principle of the amendment, Judge Thurman said, ‘ I tell you it is only the entering wedge, that will destroy all intelligent suffrage in this country, and turn our country from an intelligent white man’s government into one of the most corrupt mongrel governments in the world.’ ”

“ Of its validity, if declared adopted, Gen. Ward said, —

“ ‘ Fellow-citizens of Ohio, I boldly assert that the States of this Union have always had, both before and

since the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, entire sovereignty over the whole subject of suffrage in all its relations and bearings. Ohio has that sovereignty now ; and it cannot be taken from her without her consent, even by all the other States combined, except by revolutionary usurpation. The right to regulate suffrage as to the organization of its own government, and the election of officers under it, is an inalienable attribute of sovereignty, which the State could not surrender without surrendering its sovereign existence as a State. To take from Ohio the power of determining who shall exercise the right of suffrage is not an amendment of the Constitution, but a revolutionary usurpation by the other States, in no wise constitutionally binding on her sovereignty as a State.'

"These opinions are still largely prevalent in the Democratic party. When a new departure was announced at Dayton, the leading organ of the party in this State said,—

"'There are matters in the Montgomery County resolutions, which, it is very safe to say, will not receive the approval of the State convention, and which should not receive its indorsement. They have faults of omission and commission. They evince a desire to sail with the wind, and as near the water as possible, without getting wet. The Democracy everywhere believe that the Constitution was altered by fraud and force, and do not intend to be mealy-mouthed in their expression of the outrage, whatever they may agree upon as to

how the amendments should be treated in the future, for the sake of saving, if possible, what is left of constitutional liberty.'

"After the scheme was adopted in convention, the common sentiment was well expressed by the editor, who said that 'the platform was made for present use, and is marked with the taint of insincerity.'

"The speeches of Col. McCook and other Democratic gentlemen exhibit, when, carefully read, clearly enough, the character of the new departure.

"In accepting the nomination, Col. McCook said, —

" 'Let me speak now upon the Fifteenth Amendment, which confers the right of suffrage upon the blacks. It was no legitimate consequence of the war; it was no legitimate consequence of secession: but it was passed in the exigency of a political party, that they might have control, as much in Ohio as in those States in the South. I opposed it as I did the Fourteenth, from the beginning, and I have no regrets from the opposition. But now a word more upon it. If it contained nothing but this provision for suffrage, there would be but little objection to it; but it contains a provision intended to confer power upon Congress, which is dangerous to the liberties of the country; and the dangers can only be avoided by having Democratic congresses in the future, who will trust no power to the Executive, which bears the purse and sword, to interfere with our elections.'

"When interrogated on this subject at Chardon, he said, 'When he received the nomination, he had said

that no black man who had received the right to vote under the Fifteenth Amendment ever could have it taken away. Repealing the Fifteenth Amendment would not take it away. That amendment is no more sacred, but just as sacred as any other part of the Constitution; but repealing it could not take away a right.' He was asked, as to the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, 'Do you regard them as in the same sense, and to the same extent, parts of the Constitution as other portions?' He answered, 'Yes, certainly. Cannot men see the difference between opposing the adoption of a measure, and yielding when it had been adopted, and opposition had become useless?' He was asked, 'Are these amendments never again to become political questions?' — 'I have no authority or power to answer such a question. How can I answer as to all the future? How can I tell what the Democracy of New York, or any other State, may do? And how can they become political questions, now that they are acquiesced in by almost the entire people of the country?'

"Mr. Hubbard, the chairman of Col. McCook's first meeting, said, 'The Democrats did not dispute that this amendment, which was adopted by constitutional forms, was valid, but, while accepting it, call it "a new departure," if you please. We do not surrender our right to make such returns to the old Constitution as we may deem expedient. It is a future question that we are not bound to discuss.'

“The gentleman who had the second place on the Democratic ticket, Mr Hunt, says, ‘There is no reasoning, and certainly no circumstances, which can give the Thirteenth Amendment more binding force than either of the two other amendments. If the Thirteenth Amendment abolished slavery, then the title to vote under the Fifteenth Amendment is as perfect as the title to liberty. The fact that they have been declared a part of the Constitution does not preclude a legitimate discussion as to their expediency. Proper action will never be barred ; for the statute of limitation will run with the Constitution itself. Experience may teach the necessity of a change in any provision of the organic law ; and any legislation, to be permanent, must conform to the living sentiment of the people.’

“These paragraphs furnish no adequate reply to the questions which an intelligent and earnest Republican who believes in the wisdom and value of the amendments would put to these gentlemen, when they ask him for his vote. He would ask, ‘If the Democratic party should obtain the controlling power in the General Government in its several departments, executive, legislative, and judicial, and in the State Governments, what would it do ? Would it faithfully execute these amendments ? or would it not, rather, use its power to get rid of them, either by constitutional amendment, by judicial decision, by unfriendly legislation, or by a failure or refusal to legislate ?’ Before the ‘new departure’ can gain Republican votes, its friends must answer

satisfactorily these questions. The speeches I have quoted fail to furnish such answers. Col. Cook objects to the Fifteenth Amendment, because it 'contains a provision intended to confer power upon Congress which is dangerous to the liberties of the country.' Now, what is this dangerous provision? It reads:—

“‘SECTION 2. — The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.’

“Each of the three recent amendments contain a similar provision. Without this provision, they would be inoperative in more than half of the late rebel States. The complaints made of these provisions warn us, that, in Democratic hands, the legislation required to give force and effect to these provisions would be denied.

“But the most significant part of these speeches are the passages which refer to the repeal of the amendments. Mr. Hubbard said, ‘We do not surrender the right to make such returns to the whole Constitution as we may deem expedient. It is a future question, that we are not bound to discuss.’ Col. Cook says, ‘How can I answer for all the future? How can I tell what the Democracy of New York, or any other State, may do?’ Mr. Hunt says, ‘The fact that they have been declared a part of the Constitution does not preclude any legitimate discussion as to their expediency: proper action will never be barred.’ The meaning of all this is, that the Democratic party will acquiesce in the amendments while it is out of power. Whether or not it will try to

repeal them when it gets power, is a question of the future which they are not bound to discuss. Or, as another distinguished gentleman has it, this question 'Is beyond the range of profitable discussion.' In reply to this gentleman, the well-informed Republican citizen, when asked to vote for the 'new departure,' is very like to adopt their own phraseology, and to say, 'Whether I shall vote your ticket, or not, is a question of the future which it is not now proper to discuss.' It is 'beyond the range of profitable discussion.' And, if he has the Democratic veneration for Tammany Hall, he will say with Col. McCook, 'How can I tell what the Democracy of New York may do?'

"Notwithstanding the decision of the late convention, it is probable that the real sentiments of the democracy of Ohio are truly stated by 'The Butler County Democrat: '—

"Our position, then, is, that while we regard the so-called amendments as gross usurpations and base frauds, — *de facto* and *de jure*, — and therefore acts which are void, we will abide by them until a majority of the people of the States united shall, at the polls, put men in power who shall hold them to be null, and of no effect. We adhere strictly, on this point, to the second resolution of Hon. L. D. Campbell, adopted at the Democratic convention held in this county last May; and, to refresh the minds of our readers, we reproduce it here.

"2. That now, as heretofore, we are opposed to all



lawlessness and disorder, and for maintaining the supremacy of the Constitution and laws as the only certain means of public safety; and we will abide by all their provisions until the same shall be amended, abrogated, or repealed by the lawfully constituted authorities.'

"The 'new departure' has certainly very little claim to the support of Republican citizens. What are its claims to the support of honest Democrats?

"Col. McCook, to make the 'new departure' palatable to his Democratic supporters, tells them that a repeal of the Fifteenth Amendment would fail of its object; that the right to vote, once exercised by the black man, cannot be taken away. Is this sound, either in law or logic? By the Fifteenth Amendment, no State can deny the right to vote to any citizens on account of race or color. Suppose that amendment was repealed, what could prevent Kentucky from denying suffrage to colored citizens? Plainly nothing. And, in case of such repeal, it is probable, that, in less than ninety days thereafter, every Democratic State would deny suffrage to colored citizens, and the great body of Democratic voters would heartily applaud that result. The truth is, no sound argument can be made, showing, or tending to show, that the 'new departure' is consistent with the Democratic record. Hitherto Democracy has taught, that, as a question of law, the amendments were made by force and fraud, and are therefore void; that, as a question of principle, this is a white man's gov-

ernment, and that to confer suffrage on the colored races — on the African or Chinaman — would change the nature of the government, and speedily destroy it. Now, the 'new departure' demands that Democrats shall accept the amendments as valid, and shall take a pledge 'to secure equal right to all persons, without distinction of race, color, or condition.' Sincere Democrats will find it very difficult to take that pledge, unless they are now convinced that their whole political life has been a great mistake.

"When an individual changes his political principles, turns his coat merely to catch votes, he is generally thought to be unworthy of support. I entertain no doubt that the people of Ohio at the approaching election will, upon that principle, by a large majority condemn the Democratic party for its bold attempt to catch Republican votes."

In one of his speeches in a campaign where Gen. Rosecrans had been nominated and declined, Gen. Hayes thus referred to him and the party: —

"There were mutterings of aversion all around the camp. In Holmes and Butler they did not enthusiastically cheer for 'Old Rosey.' Well, in due time came along Rosecrans' letter. 'No, I thank you, I must look after my family and my debts.' It is not a good thing for a man who cares for his family or creditors to be running on the Democratic ticket."

In another address, and speaking of Mr. Pendleton, Gen. Hayes said, —

“It was not strange that he should wish to have such a record obliterated or forgotten, — to make a dead issue of this record of a statesman whose friends seek for him the stepping-stone to the presidency. Washington was made president because of his past; Grant was made president because of his past. It is the past record of a statesman for patriotism, for wisdom, for statesmanship, that is the best pledge of his future. The day never was seen by Clay or Webster, by Lincoln or Douglass, when they did not stand ready to defend their course in the past. Webster, a quarter of a century after the war with England, was questioned for the patriotism of his acts during the war; and the most eloquent speech of his life was made in defending the wisdom and patriotism of that record.”

In a speech at Gallipolis, Gen. Hayes thus pointedly mentioned the capture of the Democratic Convention by the Greenback Party: —

“Congress pledged the country that the issue of greenbacks should never exceed four hundred millions of dollars. And now our Democratic friends, after the close of the war, meet in Columbus; and against the protest of Democrats of standing (Thurman and Payne

and Ranney), — against their protests, those more recent Democrats, — Cary and Ewing and Lew Campbell and Baker, — with the shell of the Republican egg from which they were hatched still sticking to their backs, resolved in favor of more greenbacks.”

Oct. 7, 1871, Gen. Hayes gave a short address at the dedication of the Davidson Fountain in Cincinnati, in which he said, —

“This work lends a new charm to the whole city.

“Longfellow’s lines in praise of the catawba that grows on the banks of the beautiful river gives to the catawba a finer flavor, and renders the beautiful river still more beautiful. When art and genius give to us in marble or on canvas the features of those we admire or love, ever afterward we discover in their faces and in their characters more to admire, and more to love.

“This work makes Cincinnati a pleasanter city, her homes more happy, her aims worthier, and her future brighter.

“But this fountain does not pour forth her blessings for Cincinnati, or for her visitors and guests alone. . . . This monument is an instructor of all who come. Whoever beholds it will carry away some part of the lesson it teaches. The duty which the citizen owes to the community in which and by which he has prospered — that duty this work will forever teach. No rich man who is wise will, in the presence of this exam-

ple, willingly go to the grave with his debt to the public unpaid and unprovided for. Many a last will and testament will have a beneficent codicil, suggested by the work we inaugurate to-day. Parks, fountains, schools, galleries of art, libraries, hospitals, churches, whatever benefits and elevates mankind, will here receive much needed encouragement and support.

“This work says to him who with anxious toil and care has successfully gathered and hoarded, Do not neglect your great opportunity. Divide wisely and equitably between the few who are most nearly of your own blood, and the many who are in kinship only a little farther removed. If you regard only those reared under your own roof, your cherished estate will soon be scattered, perhaps wasted by profligate heirs in riotous living, to their own ruin, and you and your fortune will quickly be forgotten. Give a share, pay a tithe, to your more distant and more numerous kindred,—to the general public,—and you will be gratefully remembered, and mankind will be blessed by your having lived.”

One of the most interesting addresses delivered by Gen. Hayes, apart from his political speeches, was that delivered at the dedication of the Findlay soldiers' monument, Wednesday, July 7, 1875; and we venture to give a very liberal extract:—

“We are glad to see that the people of Hancock

County have done this wise and patriotic work. A monument in honor of the brave men of Hancock County who in that four-years' conflict for union and liberty fell, is erected in this town, — a monument of which all the people of the county will be proud, and wish to have remain here, we trust, forever. And why not erect a monument to those brave men? In every age it has been the general judgment of mankind, that all men who freely and bravely gave their lives on the right side of a great and good cause should be forever remembered with gratitude. Is not this the fact with the men who went out from your county to gladden their homes no more by their safe return? Did they not give their lives in a great and good cause? We cannot indicate, even by words, all the facts that entitle us to claim for them what I have stated as a great and a good cause.

“I hear that my friend Gov. Allen, and those with him travelling from Dayton, perhaps a hundred miles distant from here, passing through such towns as Troy, Wapakoneta, and Lima, and the smaller towns, were everywhere met by the American people celebrating the Fourth of July, that most illustrious date in the secular annals of our race. Now think, my friends. Suppose that the men who went from this country in 1861 to 1865, — the men who fought at Stone River, Chickamauga, Vicksburg, and all the other twelve hundred battles and skirmishes of that war, — suppose that in the result they had failed, where would have

been the Fourth of July? What would have been our feelings? Instead of our gratitude and happiness, and this outpouring of the people to celebrate it, it would have been a day of sorrow and shame and mortification. I am behind no man in doing honor to the fathers who founded the Republic; but I must not forget, I do not forget, the comrades who perished in the war to save the Republic. What a task they had! Do you remember when Abraham Lincoln bade farewell to his neighbors and friends at Springfield, — that last farewell to his old friends, — he said to them, ‘The task which devolves upon me is greater than that which has devolved upon any man since Washington; and I ask that you will pray that I may have that divine assistance, without which I cannot succeed, and with which I cannot fail.’ It was to perform that task that Mr. Lincoln felt devolved so greatly upon him, that the brave men of Hancock County flocked to their country’s standard in 1861 and in 1862; and along a line of frontier operations two thousand miles in length, extending from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, and stretching over every square mile of all those Southern States, these men marched and fought, and suffered and fell.

“I know not how many of them have been gathered into the cemeteries near their home; I know not how many others have been gathered into the beautiful national cemeteries near the great battlefields; I know not how many are lying in swamps,

along the mountain-sides, in nameless graves, the unknown heroes of the Union: but wherever they are, and however many there may be, you people of Hancock County have erected your monument to all who fell, who left your county. All soldiers, I am sure, feel like thanking you for this. I remember well that one of the saddest days of my life was after one of our great battles in the early period of the war. Recovering from wounds, with other comrades who had been wounded there, we passed near the battle-field, as soon as we felt able to do so; and, when we came there, what did we learn? Passing up the mountain, charging the line of the enemy, they fell; and everywhere were the shallow graves in which were deposited the remains of our seven hundred companions who had fallen. And how were they buried? and how was their last resting-place marked? Hastily, tenderly, no doubt, the parties detailed to bury them had gathered up their remains. You soldiers know how it was done. They placed upon the face of each man who died, wherever they could ascertain his name, a piece of an envelope, or a scrap of a letter, or something of the kind, containing his name, his company, his regiment, fastening it there, hoping, that some day his friends might come and find him, and learn who it was there buried. And then, you remember, there were no coffins, nothing of the sort; but they took the blue overcoat, and placed it around the man, and took the cape, and, bringing it over the face, fastened it down. This was his shroud;



this was his coffin: and he was placed away to rest until the resurrection morn. That was the manner of his burial. And strange I may say was the result of that woollen material over the face: saturated with water, and covered with the earth, it did so protect them from decay, that months afterwards many were recognized by their friends, preserved as they were by the overcoat cape. And how was the grave marked? With a pencil they scratched upon a piece of pine board — a thin piece of cracker-box — the name and company, which was placed at the grave. This was all then; and we did not know what the result would be. We did not know what friends would do, what monuments would be reared.

“As we left that field, talking to each other, we said there must be a soldiers’ monument for the soldiers of our regiment. I would not claim that this was the first regiment that built a monument; that the Twenty-third Ohio, to which I had the honor to belong, built the first monument: but I will say it was the first I heard of. After the famous Antietam campaign was fought, we called the men together, — four hundred and fifty or five hundred men, — and from the scanty pay which was to support the men, and to some extent their families, the majority of the remainder subscribed at least one dollar, and others more, according to their ability, and raised in the regiment two thousand dollars to build a monument, on which, it was agreed, should be inscribed the name of every man in the regiment

who had fallen, and every man who should fall during the continuance of the war. We had it placed in the cemetery at Cleveland, where more of our number came from than from any other place. Many a monument has been built since, far grander than that, taller, and finer, and more expensive; but that, so far as I know, was the first soldiers' monument.

“ We are glad to know that you of Hancock County have not neglected your duty in that regard. You mean that those men shall have their monument, and be remembered forever. It will be a monument that will have its value to you and your children: it will be an instructor, a teacher of lessons to all who look on it. What is it? Why did these men perish? Why was this monument built? Here is a great nation: here is a country stretching from ocean to ocean, over the finest part of the best continent on the globe. On the day that they volunteered, the only enemy that the American nation could know, could fear, could dread, was in war against us. We cared nothing for foreign nations: they were too far, too distant; and anyway, with the North and South united, as I believe they now are, in feeling, we can meet the world in arms against us. A house divided against itself—there was the danger; and that was the danger that these men went out to meet. And now, how is it to-day? How stands the matter now? We know every acre of that beautiful land belongs only to the stars and stripes, and belongs to the flag forever.

“And not only that lesson does it teach; but it teaches, also, that this Union is dedicated to the principles of the Declaration of Independence. I hardly know what others may think about that; but I believe, that, in fifty years past, there never was a time when there was that prospect of complete and enduring harmony among all classes of people, in all sections of this country, that there is to-day. Why, think of it! On the 17th of June, the hundredth anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill, we had Maryland Confederate regiments and soldiers saluting—in the streets of Boston, and on Boston Common and Bunker Hill—the men of Massachusetts: we had South Carolina and Massachusetts shoulder to shoulder, as in the days when their fathers beat the British a hundred years ago. All this, I think, is due, in a great measure, to the success of our men to whom this monument is erected, and their comrades in other States and other organizations, living and dead. Think of the men themselves who were there,—citizen soldiers, not one, perhaps, of whom, was ever acquainted with war, or ever bred to war. Here and there one had been in the Mexican war; here and there one had been in some Indian war; but, as a rule, they all came from civil life: they all came from where they were sovereigns, to be, for three years, obedient to men who were not better than themselves.

“Why, they tell us our bayonets could think. Yes,

and often and often it was the glory, in my judgment, of the private soldier, that the bayonet thought more truly, more wisely, more accurately, than the sword. A celebrated English statesman said, 'I can understand why these Americans, to the number of millions, rushed to arms to defend the government they had made. There is no mystery in that. Now, I do not understand how it was, that, at the end of that war, a million of men quietly disbanded, and returned to the walks of peaceful life, and went back about their old occupations, and became again good citizens.' There was one great advantage we had, — a people so educated, and so intelligent in all classes, that we could raise an army of that sort.

"Our monument, then, stands and teaches us of the importance of the Union, the importance of the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and the importance of universal education. My friends, what is a monument, however costly and beautiful, if it does not teach us some of the duties of practical life, how the living shall deal with the living? When you shall see the widows of the soldiers, the parents and orphans of the soldiers, every man whose heart is in the right place feels his sympathies warmed towards them. There is no doubt as to that, I am sure, in any Christian community. But there is another lesson. The men who fell, the men who lost an arm or leg, the widows and orphans who are left, are not the only victims of the war. There must always be another class. We

rejoice to know that the great body of young men who went out to the war returned to their homes, more manly, braver, and better than when they left them ; but they were gone, many of them, at the critical period of life, from sixteen to twenty years of age, just the period when they must learn habits of thrift, and the knowledge of occupations or trades that shall enable them to get that independence which every man in America ought to have, or try to have. They were during that period in the army ; and some came back with habits to which we regret to allude. But, my friends, when we look at that monument, we should be reminded that that man who may have thus formed any pernicious habits in the army is always one of the victims of the war. He has lost that which is better than life in trying to save the Republic. Avert not your gaze, patriotic men, from that man. Lift him up, help him, never give him up. Give him occupation, give him good words, save him, if you can. At any rate, treat him as one of the victims of the war."

## CHAPTER XXVI.

### NOMINATION FOR THE PRESIDENCY.

Nominated by the Republican Convention. — Unexpected Honor. — His Previous Conversation on the Subject. — His Reception of the News. — His Letter of Acceptance. — Civil Service. — Currency. — Public Schools. — Relations between the North and South. — Closing Remarks.

JUNE 14, 1876, Gen. Hayes was nominated by the National Republican Convention held at Cincinnati, as the candidate of the Republican Party for President of the United States. It was a great honor. Great men had sought the position ; and it was considered honorable for any man to seek it. Yet to Gen. Hayes it came as unsought as all his other public honors. To him it was almost wholly unexpected ; and few men in the nation were more surprised that day than was he, when, sitting quietly in his office at the Capitol in Columbus, the telegraph announced to him his nomination.

The matter had sometimes been referred to in his presence by enthusiastic friends ; but, up to the moment of his appraisal of the nomination, he never allowed himself to expect or desire it. One of his intimate friends wrote a letter soon after the nomination, in

which the writer made a reference to his modesty, and, among other things, said, —

“ We had been to Jefferson, where the governor, on the 16th of September, made his campaign speech. Hon. B. F. Wade had introduced him in a glowing eulogy, which was published at the time, and in which he presented him as ‘ a suitable man for the highest office in the gift of the American people.’ ”

“ A resolution had been drawn by Hon. Abner Kellogg, former representative, and afterwards senator from the Ashtabula District, nominating Gen. Hayes for Republican candidate for 1876. This Mr. Kellogg, by the way, was one of the leaders of the Liberals in Ashtabula County in 1872. Because the day was rainy, and the crowd small, the resolution was not offered, the mover preferring to take a more auspicious day to give the candidate a good send-off.

“ The next day, in the cars, I took pleasure in telling Gov. Hayes of this, and adding the assurance of a very warm interest in the subject. His reply was characteristic. Handing me the morning paper, which contained Mr. Adams’s (so-called) letter declining to be a candidate, he said, ‘ That letter shows how embarrassing it is to a man to be talked about in connection with that office, who does not regard himself as a candidate, and who, as in my case at least, does not expect to be a candidate. He can neither decline that which is not offered, nor withdraw a name which has not in any responsible way been presented. All he can do is to

say nothing about it; and even that may be misconstrued.' He added, 'When I was a young man, I was delighted with Macaulay's Essays; and one of them which left a lasting impression, was that wherein he says every man should take a just measure of himself. I know the country knows there are men so much greater than I—Charles Francis Adams himself, for



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instance, the ripe scholar, the successful diplomatist, and all that—that are fitted for the presidency, that I have come to regard these pleasant expressions for what I think they are worth.' ”

Such was the estimate which the man put upon himself, showing how all his intoxicating success, and all the flattery and popularity of so many years in office, had left him all his youthful modesty; and the



Rutherford B. Hayes of 1840 was the same unassuming person in 1876.

He treated the nomination with due respect; but it did not fill him with excitement, nor so pre-occupy his mind, that he could not continue the private business he had in hand when the news came to him. He preferred to go home to Fremont, and live a retired life; but if the path of duty led to the White House, or into a contest where the national honor was to be defended, he would follow that path, and do his whole duty.

Soon after the letter notifying him of the action of the convention was received, he wrote the following reply, accepting the nomination : —

COLUMBUS, O., July 8, 1876.

HON. EDWARD MCPHERSON, HON. WILLIAM A. HOWARD, HON. JOSEPH H. RAINEY, AND OTHERS OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

*Gentlemen,* — In reply to your official communication of June 17, by which I am informed of my nomination for the office of President of the United States by the Republican National Convention at Cincinnati, I accept the nomination with gratitude, hoping that, under Providence, I shall be able, if elected, to execute the duties of the high office as a trust for the benefit of all the people. I do not deem it necessary to enter upon any extended examination of the declaration of principles made by the convention. The resolutions are in

accord with my views, and I heartily concur in the principles which they announce. In several of the resolutions, however, questions are considered which are of such importance, that I deem it proper to briefly express my convictions in regard to them.

The fifth resolution adopted by the convention is of paramount interest. More than forty years ago, a system of making appointments to office grew up, based upon the maxim, "To the victors belong the spoils." The old rule, the true rule, that honesty, capacity, and fidelity constitute the only real qualifications for office, and that there is no other claim, gave place to the idea that party services were to be chiefly considered. All parties in practice have adopted this system. It has been essentially modified since its first introduction. It has not, however, been improved. At first the president, either directly or through the heads of departments, made all the appointments; but gradually the appointing power, in many cases, passed into the control of the members of Congress.

The offices in these cases have become not merely rewards for party services, but rewards for services to party leaders. The system destroys the independence of the separate departments of the government: it tends directly to extravagance and official incapacity: it is a temptation to dishonesty: it hinders and impairs that careful supervision and strict accountability by which alone faithful and efficient public service can be secured: it obstructs the prompt removal and sure

punishment of the unworthy. In every way it degrades the civil service and the character of the government. It is felt, I am confident, by a large majority of the members of Congress, to be an intolerable burden, and an unwarrantable hinderance to the proper discharge of their legitimate duties. It ought to be abolished. The reform should be thorough, radical, and complete. We should return to the principles and practice of the founders of the government, supplying by legislation, when needed, that which was the formerly established custom. They neither expected nor desired from the public officers any partisan service. They meant that public officers should owe their whole service to the government and to the people: they meant that the officer should be secure in his tenure as long as his personal character remained untarnished, and the performance of his duties satisfactory. If elected, I shall conduct the administration of the government upon these principles, and all the constitutional powers vested in the Executive will be employed to establish this reform.

The declaration of principles by the Cincinnati Convention makes no announcement in favor of a single presidential term. I do not assume to add that declaration; but believing that the restoration of the civil service to the system established by Washington, and followed by the early presidents, can best be accomplished by an Executive who is under no temptation to use the patronage of his office to promote his own

re-election, I desire to perform what I regard as a duty, in stating now my inflexible purpose, if elected, not to be a candidate for election to a second term.

On the currency question I have frequently expressed my views in public, and I stand by my record on this subject. I regard all the laws of the United States relating to the payment of the public indebtedness, the legal-tender notes included, as constituting a pledge and moral obligation of the government, which must in good faith be kept. It is my conviction that the feeling of uncertainty and insecurity from an irredeemable paper currency, with its fluctuations of value, is one of the great obstacles to a revival of confidence and business, and to a return to prosperity. That uncertainty can be ended in but one way,—the resumption of specie payment; but, the longer the instability connected with our present money system is permitted to continue, the greater will be the injury inflicted upon our economical interests, and all classes of society. If elected, I shall approve every appropriate measure to accomplish the desired end, and shall oppose any step backward.

The resolution with respect to the public school system is one which should receive the hearty support of the American people. Agitation upon this subject is to be apprehended, until, by constitutional amendment, the schools are placed at bay, and all danger of sectional control and interference is passed. The Republican party is pledged to secure such an amendment. The resolution of the convention on the subject of the per-

manent pacification of the country, and the complete protection of all its citizens in the free enjoyment of all their constitutional rights, is timely and of great importance.

The condition of the Southern States attracts the attention, and commands the sympathy, of the people of the whole Union in their progressive recovery from the effects of the war. Their first necessity is an intelligent and honest administration of the government, which will protect all classes of citizens in all their political and private rights. What the South most needs is "peace," and peace depends upon the supremacy of law. There can be no enduring peace, if the constitutional rights of any portion of the people are habitually disregarded. A division of political parties, resting merely upon distinctions of race, or upon sectional lines, is always unfortunate, and may be disastrous. The welfare of the South, alike with that of every part of the country, depends upon the attractions it can offer to labor, to immigration, and to capital; but laborers will not go, and capital will not be ventured, where the Constitution and the laws are set at defiance, and distraction, apprehension, and alarm take the place of peace-loving and law-abiding social life. All parts of the Constitution are sacred, and must be sacredly observed, — the parts that are new, no less than the parts that are old. The moral and material prosperity of the Southern States can be most effectually advanced by a hearty and generous recognition of the rights of

all by all, — a recognition without reserve or exception. With such a recognition fully accorded, it will be practicable to promote, by the influence of all legitimate agencies of the General Government, the efforts of the people of those States to obtain for themselves the blessings of honest and capable local government.

If elected, I shall consider it not only my duty, but it will be my ardent desire, to labor for the attainment of this end. Let me assure my countrymen of the Southern States, that, if I shall be charged with the duty of organizing an administration, it will be one which will regard and cherish their truest interests, — the interests of the white and of the colored people both and equally ; and which will put forth its best efforts in behalf of a civil policy which will wipe out forever the distinction between the North and South in our common country.

With a civil service organized upon a system which will secure purity, experience, efficiency, and economy, a strict regard for the public welfare solely in appointments, and the speedy, thorough, and unsparing prosecution and punishment of all public officers who betray official trust ; with a sound currency ; with education unsectarian, and free to all ; with simplicity and frugality in public and private affairs ; and with a fraternal spirit of harmony pervading the people of all sections and classes, — we may reasonably hope that the second century of our existence as a nation, will, by the bless-

ing of God, be pre-eminent as an era of good feeling, and a period of progress, prosperity, and happiness.

Very respectfully your fellow-citizen,

R. B. HAYES.

Thus ends our story of a life which is full of instruction for every reader. It may be that we have failed to bestow upon him all the praise he deserves, and it is possible that we have omitted much that would have been of interest; but we lay down the pen with a consciousness of having written this biography under the inspiration of an earnest desire to extend a knowledge of a good and great man, and we feel that perhaps our work is as complete, and as free from errors, as any book would be, written, as this has been, in less than ninety hours.







*W. A. Wheeler*

PHILIP A. WHEELER

CHIEF OF BUREAU

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

WASHINGTON, D. C.



*H. A. Wheeler*

**WILLIAM A. WHEELER**

**OF NEW YORK.**

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**SKETCH OF HIS LIFE AND CHARACTER.**



# WILLIAM A. WHEELER.

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## CHAPTER I.

### EARLY LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICE.

Place of Birth. — Traits of his Boyhood. — Attendance on the Common School. — Course at the Franklin Academy. — Goes to the University of Vermont. — Undertakes the Study of Law. — First Years of Law Practice. — Elected District Attorney. — Chosen to the State Legislature. — First Term in Congress. — President of the New York State Constitutional Convention.

It is doubtful if there can be found a man in public life anywhere whose biography would be more difficult to write than that of William A. Wheeler. He is one of those few men who seem to be known and appreciated, and yet about whom the world knows but little. Nothing but a long and patient research in municipal, legislative, and congressional archives, could place him before the people in completeness and accuracy. In whatever he has undertaken, in whatever position he has been placed, he has conducted himself in such a manner, that his personal identity has been lost in the history of the measures he supported, or the crowd of

men whom he assisted. In a certain sense of the word, he is a very modest man; and yet he is not bashful in society, nor diffident in public debate.

There are some men whose personality is so prominent in whatever they do, that, while the listener forgets very quickly their words or their acts, he cannot fail to remember their appearance and their name. The opposite is the case with Mr. Wheeler. There are many thousand people now living who do not recall that they ever saw Mr. Wheeler, but who never can forget the speeches made by him in their presence, when the subjects were presented in such a style, that they wholly overlooked the speaker, and did not think to ask his name. He has a power to attract close attention to what he is saying or doing, and keep himself in the background; and, having availed himself of that power in nearly all his acts and words, it would be difficult for any person to give more than a sketch of his public life.

He was born June 3, 1819, at the town of Malone in Northern New York, the capital town of Franklin County. Although, at the time of his birth, it was a very small village, and the region was regarded by Eastern people as being a wilderness in the "Far West," yet it has grown since that time to be an important commercial centre for a large and prosperous farming community, as well as a flourishing manufacturing town, doing extensive business in machinery and flour. The Salmon River furnishes ample water-power for its manufactories.

There, among the working-people of that obscure town, and in a family neither wealthy nor poverty-stricken, William A. Wheeler drew the first breath of life; and at no time in his life did he appear to forget his position. He was never afraid of work himself, and never relished the society of those, who, from laziness or aristocratic claims, refused to do an honest day's work.

About his boyhood there was nothing to distinguish him from a score of his playmates who romped on the green, fished in the river, or played pranks among the workmen at the mills. He was never the ostensible leader in any game or frolic; yet, without him, neither the game nor the frolic was successful. If the boys played soldier, he was in the ranks, and from that position gave orders to the captain. One of his old playmates says that he remembers young Wheeler when but ten years old, and that then the little fellow was regarded as one of the most trustworthy boys in town; and that he was often intrusted with business which was seldom given to any person under twenty-five years of age. He was always punctual, truthful, and careful, and attempted nothing he did not understand. Yet he was lively, jolly, and happy, being a genial companion and a valuable friend.

He appears, however, to have been but an ordinary scholar in the schools, having a natural aptitude and liking for mathematics. He attended the common school in Malone until sufficiently advanced to begin the regular course in the Franklin Academy, an insti-



tution of good standing among our American academies, and located in Malone. From the academy, he began a course of study in the University of Vermont. But having determined to adopt the profession of law, and finding that, by the terms of the statutes then in existence, he would be obliged to devote seven years to the study of jurisprudence before he could be admitted to the bar, he left the university after a year's stay, and entered upon his studies as a student of law.

In 1845 he began the practice of law in Malone, and soon acquired quite an extensive practice in such matters as usually come to the hands of a country lawyer. His business was, however, of a limited extent, and not very lucrative in the way of retainers and fees. He was regarded by his neighbors during those years as a young man of the average ability, hearty, generous, and trustworthy. In some branches of the law, however, he was found to be the equal of some of the judges; and several cases are mentioned by his acquaintances as having been conducted with masterly eloquence, and exhibiting surprising legal acumen.

His political life began before the organization of the Freesoil party, and while he regarded himself as a member of no political party. He had often taken an interest in local matters affecting the welfare of his community, and taken the leadership in some movements which were successful; but he never walked within the party traces, if any question of right or of reason interfered. His first office was that of district

attorney for his native county, to which he was elected by the Democratic party. The nomination and election came to him alike unsought, but, being in the line of his profession, was, doubtless, acceptable to him.

His services as district attorney were so acceptable to the people, and his fitness for official duties so clearly displayed, that the voters of Malone began to wonder how it was that they had not thought of him before. At once, on his leaving the office of district attorney, the Whigs took him up as their candidate for the State assembly, and elected him by a handsome majority. His services in the legislature did not attract especial attention, as no matter of vital importance called out his talents, or led him to overcome his natural diffidence.

On his return home from the assembly, there was offered him a position in a bank at Malone as cashier, which was an office far more lucrative than his profession had been, and more congenial to his retiring disposition.

As a cashier he was thoroughly successful; and, by his unquestioned integrity and quickness of apprehension, he became very popular with stockholders and depositors, and won his way into monetary circles as adviser by the prestige of his name. In the construction of the Ogdensburg and Rouse Point Railroad, which passes through Malone, Mr. Wheeler was much interested, in common with a large portion of the people, who felt how much their local prosperity depended upon

their railroad facilities. He was elected president of the corporation; and his administration of its affairs, in matters of economy and financial arrangements, was so successful, that he was continued in the office eleven successive years.

In the formation and success of the Republican party, Mr. Wheeler took a hearty interest, entering into the local organization with the pioneers of the movement. He had a hatred of slavery, and was open in his denunciation of the inhuman traffic in our fellow-men as early as 1855. By the Republicans he was sent to the New York legislature, and for them, in the Senate of 1858, he did good service, and was recognized as a strong and upright defender of liberty in every civilized form.

Following his service in the State Senate came an election to Congress (1859), when the great questions preceding the Rebellion, and which at last brought it upon us, were being discussed with angry fervor. In that Congress the friends of human freedom had their bitterest fight. It was there that the slaveholders found the member from Northern New York as immovable as a rock, and as courteous as a cavalier. Being a new member of the House of Representatives, he labored under many disadvantages, as the new-comers were regarded in Congress very much as freshmen are regarded in college; and they do not usually obtain much influence until they enter for a second or third term. But Mr. Wheeler's actions and words are

recalled now by his fellow-members, and are spoken of by his opponents, with great respect.

At the end of that term (1861), he retired to private life ; and declaring it to be his belief that as good men as himself could be found to fill the seats of Congress, and saying that all he cared about the matter was to have the office filled by some one who would do his whole duty, he indicated his desire henceforth to enjoy his home undisturbed by the cares of state.

But in 1867, when his patriotism and speeches during the war had endeared him to the people with whom he had been associated, he was elected a member of the New York State Constitutional Convention ; and upon its assembling he was promptly elected chairman. His election to the office of presiding officer by that convention was regarded at the time as an honor nearly if not quite equal to that of being elected governor. It was an assemblage of the best and ablest men of that State, and was intrusted with the changes to be made in the organic law of that great commonwealth. It had need of great wisdom and great caution ; and Mr. Wheeler was to conduct its deliberations. It is said, that, while presiding over that body, he displayed a dignity and an executive ability which surprised even his intimate friends. There had been no occasion before in his life, which called out such features of his latent power ; and his opening address as he took the chair has been preserved and repeated by thousands, and will be preserved and

repeated so long as the history of human freedom in our land remains of interest. He advocated negro suffrage, and secured an article of amendment to the Constitution to be submitted to the people, which, while it failed to be ratified for the time being, only had to wait until the people were educated up to the high moral and political ground occupied by Mr. Wheeler.

## CHAPTER II.

### OFFICIAL LIFE.

Elected to Congress. — Influence in the House of Representatives. — Mentioned for the Office of President. — His Life in Washington. — Sends his Back Pay in 1873 to the United States Treasury. — Nominated for Vice-President. — Letter of Acceptance.

IN the autumn of 1867, Mr. Wheeler was nominated and elected by the Republicans of his district to a seat in the United States House of Representatives, and they have re-elected him in every congressional election since that time; the last vote for him in his district being 12,323 votes, while his opponent received only 5,553 votes.

His industry and sound judgment as chairman of the Committee of the House of Representatives upon the Pacific Railroad, and as a member of the Committee upon Southern Affairs, won for him the respect of every member of Congress, and gained for him a strong influence in all matters of legislation.

Among the members of Congress, he has long been mentioned as a man eminently fitted for the office of president; and one member of the House, of opposing political faith, pointed him out to the writer in the winter of 1876, and said, "There is the man the Repub-

licans should take, if they want another Abraham Lincoln." But he added with a sigh, that "politicians are too corrupt nowadays to hope for the nomination of such a man by any party."

One of his acquaintances, who resided in the same house with Mr. Wheeler, in Washington, before the death of his amiable wife, thus spoke of him in June, 1876:—

"Mr. Wheeler is a cousin of Rev. Alfred Wheeler, of the Methodist church in Ohio. He is a devout communicant of the Presbyterian church, a man of fifty-seven years, and of quiet, rugged strength of character. He represents more of the ideal traits of George Washington than any other man of the century. In the midst of heated congressional debate, he always sits calm and self-poised. In the familiar relations of home-life, in a crowded boarding-house, where I have known him month after month (he presiding at the table next our own), I doubt if any one has ever seen a flaw in his character. You will, perhaps, remember that I told you, in connection with Mrs. Wheeler's obsequies, that Randall stood by with tears in his eyes, and that Senators Conkling and Kernan, by their special request, were placed upon the list of pall-bearers. I never knew a man more thoroughly unambitious of office than he, or more adverse to ordinary newspaper mention. It is by the solicitation of prominent Republican friends that he has consented at all to the national use of his name. He will accept the trust as a duty, to be gravely and

conscientiously undertaken ; and those who know him best know best how unsought and uncoveted it was, yet how high is his deference for the voice and mandate of the people. If I were to recall, in detail, the most vivid memories of the past season in connection with himself and dear Mrs. Wheeler, it would be an occasional after-dinner hour in Mrs. Logan's parlor, listening to her kindly chat, or now and then pausing to hear the sweet melody of those household hymns we all love so well, floating down from their parlor above us, where Mrs. Wheeler would be, sitting at some light, dainty feminine work, and her rich voice would half unconsciously begin, —

‘ Shall we gather at the river? ’

or other kindred strain ; and Mr. Wheeler, pausing at his busy writing-desk, would always join in with his deep, clear bass, giving an unconscious impression of domestic harmony and worship that were a part of our household riches in this great, busy caravansery, my Washington home.”

In 1873 some of the political opponents raised a question about Mr. Wheeler's action in connection with the increase of pay voted to themselves by members of Congress, and afterwards known as the “ Salary Grab ; ” and one of the newspapers in his district published an article in regard to it, in which were the following paragraphs : —

“ The statement is almost daily made in the newspa-



pers, that not a single member has placed his pay beyond his reach and ultimate reclamation. The people of this congressional district are concerned directly only with the action of their own representative. In order to a full understanding of that, we have taken steps to obtain from the treasury department information as to the particular manner and legal effect of Mr. Wheeler's disposition of his portion of the back-pay; and we write with copies of the treasury record before us. Congress adjourned on the fourth day of March last. After the Appropriation Bill which gave the back-pay was signed, and certified to the secretary of the treasury, the question was raised by the comptroller of that department, that the appropriation was not available until the commencement of the fiscal year, July 1, 1873. This question was held under advisement several days, when it was decided that the fund was immediately available. Pending the decision of this question, Mr. Wheeler went to Virginia, where he remained several days, and then returned immediately home. On his way, and in the city of New York, he wrote the following letter, which fully explains itself:—

NEW YORK, March 19, 1873.

SIR,—The law passed by the late Congress for increased compensation to members of the House of Representatives, and other officials, gives me, for the last two years, after specified deduction, \$4,482.40. As this measure was opposed by my vote in all its stages, it does not comport with my views of consistency or propriety to take the above sum to my personal use. I desire, therefore, without giving publicity to the act, to return it to the

treasury, which I do by enclosing herewith five-twenty bonds of the United States, purchased with said funds, and assigned by me to you for the sole purpose of cancellation, as follows ; viz.,

Bonds and brokers' commission on purchase.	\$4,412 75
Express charges . . . . .	2 28
Balance . . . . .	67 37
Total . . . . .	<u>\$4,482 40</u>

The balance is remitted by my check herewith. Please acknowledge receipt, and oblige. Respectfully yours,

W. A. WHEELER.

Hon. WILLIAM A. RICHARDSON, *Sec. of the Treasury,*

*Washington, D.C.*

“ To this the secretary replied as follows : —

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D.C.,

March 22, 1873.

SIR, — Your letter of the 19th inst., enclosing coupon bonds of the Act of June 30, 1864, amounting to \$3,800, and currency draft for \$67.37, has been received. The proceeds of bond and draft have been covered into the general treasury of the United States in accordance with your wishes. Very respectfully,

W. A. RICHARDSON, *Secretary.*

Hon. W. A. WHEELER, *Malone, Franklin Co., N.Y.*

“ It will be seen from the above that there can be no question as to the extinguishment of the legal title to the ‘ back-pay ’ in Mr. Wheeler’s case. He drew the money, and expended it for United States bonds, which he assigned to the secretary of the treasury for the ‘ sole purpose of cancellation ; ’ and the secretary says that he has complied with Mr. Wheeler’s wishes. Unless, therefore, the bonds can be resurrected from ashes, and Mr. Wheeler’s assignment revoked, it would

seem that *his* back-pay is pretty effectually disposed of. We conclude with the statement, of the truth of which we have official evidence before us, that *Mr. Wheeler was the first man* to adopt this means of refunding to the treasury what ought never to have been, under color of law, taken from it."

At the Republican National Convention which nominated Gen. Hayes of Ohio for President, the Hon. William A. Wheeler was unanimously nominated as a candidate for the office of Vice-President of the United States. To him it came, as to Gen. Hayes, unsought and unexpected. In accepting the nomination, he wrote the following characteristic reply:—

MALONE, July 15, 1876.

HON. EDWARD MCPHERSON AND OTHERS OF THE COMMITTEE  
OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

*Gentlemen*,—I received on the 6th inst. your communication, advising me that I had been unanimously nominated by the National Convention of the Republican party, held at Cincinnati on the 14th ult., for the office of Vice-President of the United States, and requesting my acceptance of the same, and asking my attention to the summary of Republican doctrines contained in the platform adopted by the convention.

A nomination made with such unanimity implies a confidence on the part of the convention which inspires my profound gratitude. It is accepted with a sense of the responsibility which may follow. If elected, I

shall endeavor to perform the duties of the office in the fear of the Supreme Ruler, and in the interest of the whole country.

To the summary of doctrines enumerated by the convention I give my cordial assent. The Republican party has intrenched in the organic law of our land the doctrine that liberty is the supreme unchangeable law for every foot of American soil. It is the mission of that party to give full effect to this principle by "securing to every American citizen complete liberty and exact equality in the exercise of all civil, political, and public rights." This will be accomplished only when the American citizen, without regard to color, shall wear this panoply of citizenship as fully and as securely in the canebrakes of Louisiana as on the banks of the St. Lawrence.

Upon the question of our Southern relations, my views were recently expressed as a member of the Committee of the United States House of Representatives upon Southern Affairs. These views remain unchanged, and were thus expressed:—

"We of the North delude ourselves in expecting that the masses of the South, so far behind in many of the attributes of enlightened improvement and civilization, are, in the brief period of ten or fifteen years, to be transformed into our model Northern communities. That can only come through a long course of patient waiting, to which no one now can set certain bounds. There will be a good deal of unavoidable

friction, which will call for forbearance, and which will have to be relieved by the temperate, fostering care of the government. One of the most potent, if not indispensable, agencies in this direction, will be the devising of some system to aid in the education of the masses. The fact that there are whole counties in Louisiana in which there is not a solitary schoolhouse is full of suggestions. We compelled these people to remain in the Union; and now duty and interest demand that we leave no just means untried to make them good, loyal citizens. How to diminish the friction, how to stimulate the elevation, of this portion of our country, are problems addressing themselves to our best and wisest statesmanship. The foundation for these efforts must be laid so as to satisfy the Southern people that they are to have equal, exact justice accorded to them. Give them, to the fullest extent, every blessing which the government confers upon the most favored. Give them no just cause for complaint, and then hold them, by every necessary means, to an exact, rigid observance of all their duties and obligations under the Constitution and its amendments, to secure to all within these borders manhood and citizenship, with every right thereto belonging."

The just obligations to public creditors, created when the government was in the throes of threatened dissolution, and as an indispensable condition of its salvation, guaranteed by the lives and blood of thousands of its brave defenders, are to be kept with religious

faith, as are all the pledges subsidiary thereto and confirmatory thereof. In my judgment, the pledge of Congress of Jan. 14, 1875, for the redemption of the notes of the United States in coin, is the plighted faith of the nation and national honor. Simple honesty and justice to the people, whose permanent welfare and prosperity are dependent upon true money as the basis of their pecuniary transactions, all demand the scrupulous observance of this pledge; and it is the duty of Congress to supplement it with such legislation as shall be necessary for its strict fulfilment.

In our system of government, intelligence must give safety and value to the ballot. Hence the common schools of the land should be preserved in all their vigor while in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution. They and all their endowments should be secured by every possible and proper guaranty against every form of sectarian influence or control.

There should be the strictest economy in the expenditures of government, consistent with its effective administration, and all unnecessary offices should be abolished. Offices should be conferred only upon the basis of high character and particular fitness, and should be administered only as public trusts, and not for private advantage.

The foregoing are chief among the cardinal principles of the Republican party; and to carry them into full practical effect is the work it now has on hand. To the completion of its great mission we address our-

selves in hope and confidence, cheered and stimulated by the recollection of its past achievements, remembering that, under God, it is to that party that we are indebted, in this centennial year of our existence, for a preserved, unbroken Union, for the fact that there is no master or slave throughout our broad domains, and that emancipated millions look upon the ensign of the Republic as the symbol of the fulfilled declaration that all "men are created free and equal," and the guaranty of their own equality, under the law, with the most highly favored citizen of the land.

To the intelligence and conscience of all who desire good government, good will, good money, and universal prosperity, the Republican party, not unmindful of the imperfections and shortcomings of human organizations, yet with the honest purpose of its masses promptly to retrieve all errors, and to summarily punish all offenders against the laws of the country, confidently submits its claims for the continued support of the American people.

Respectfully,

WILLIAM A. WHEELER.

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